By Henry Gandy

Old *ENGLAND*:

OR, THE

Government of *England*

Prov'd to be

MONARCHICAL and HEREDITARY,

BY THE

Fundamental Laws of *England*,

AND

By the Authorities of Lawyers, Historians and Divines;

AND

Allegiance to be due to the King, not only by the Laws *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, but by the Laws of *God* and *Nature*; and that neither the *Pope*, nor any other Power, upon any *pretence* whatſoever, can Abſolve the Subjects of *England* from their Oaths and Allegiance to their King. In a Letter to a Reformer.

With an Appendix

The Church of England *is a Body both* Chriſtian *and* Legal, *which commends it ſelf to the Civil Powers by the* Loyalty *of its* Conſtitution. Argument for the Union, by *D. T.* p. 20.

Our Diſſenſions have already introduced too much of that which is the very Spirit of JESUITISM: The doing of Evil, that pretended good may come of it. *The ſerving a Cauſe by* any means, *whether they be* juſt *or* unjuſt. Id. p. 24.

Thou art inexcuſable, O Man, whoſoever thou art, that judgeſt; for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf; for thou that judgeſt doeſt the ſame things, Rom. 2. 1.

The Scribes and the Phariſees ſit in Moſes ſeat. All therefore whatſoever they bid you obſerve, that obſerve and do; but do not ye after their works: for they ſay and do not, Mat. 23. 2, 3.

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THE PREFACE.

SIR,

THE Papers I here ſend you, were drawn up ſome time ſince, to ſatisfy ſome Gentlemen tainted with Republican, *or if you pleaſe* Jeſuitical *Principles, for they are all the ſame; and I hope they may have a good effect on you, and the Gentlemen of your* New *Society; for I hear you are infected with thoſe dangerous and pernicious Principles.*

I know that all, or at leaſt the greateſt part of you, pretend to be Sons of the Church *of* England; *but let me tell you, that thoſe who hold ſuch* Principles, *abuſe the* Church *of* England, *and only ſhelter themſelves under that Venerable Name: For their going to Church, and ſaying their Prayers there, is not enough to denominate*

them Sons of the Church *of* England, *unleſs they live up to, and practice the Doctrines taught by Her: They ought to do the one, but not leave the other undone; for theſe who do ſo, are not* true Offsprings *but* pretended *Sons; they are* Baſtards, *and not* Sons. *The true ancient* Church *of* England *diſowns all ſuch Ungodly and Rebellious Sons, and abhors and abominates all* Jeſuitical *and* Republican *Tenets, and does declare to all the World, that 'tis Her unchangeable Opinion, That the* Engliſh *Government is* Monarchical: *That the King of* England *is a* Sovereign *Prince: That his Crown is an* Imperial *Crown: That the King holds his Crown from* God, *and by the* Fundamental Laws *of the* Land, *and not from the* Pope *or the* People, *&c. As you will plainly ſee, if you peruſe the following Abſtract out of Her* Homilies, *Thirty-nine* Articles, Liturgy, *the* Injunctions *of* Edward *the Sixth and Queen* Elizabeth, *the* Canons *of the Church,* Acts *of Parliament, and* Oaths *of* Allegiance *and* Supremacy: *You will further*

further ſee the Popiſh Depoſing *Doctrine, and the Doctrine of* Reſiſtance *ſubſtantially prov'd; not only by the* Laws *in* Church *and* State, *but by our Popular Preachers and Modern Divines, (whoſe Authority goes further with ſome Men, than that of the Church) to be* Jeſuitical *Doctrines, and deſtructive to the* Engliſh *Government, both in* Church *and* State: *And moreover, the Breach of* Oaths, *eſpecially thoſe of* Allegiance *and* Supremacy, *tho' upon the ſpecious Pretences of the Publick Good, and the* Good *of the* Church, *prov'd to be down-right* Perjury, *by the* Laws *of* God, *of* Nature *and* Man.

Now, Sir, *if you are, as you pretend, a Member of the* Church *of* England, *and are for the Old* Engliſh *Government as by* Laws (*as yet unrepeal'd*) Eſtabliſhed, *you muſt be for* Monarchy; *And if you are not, you muſt, whatever you may think to the contrary, act upon the worſt and moſt deteſtable Principles of* Jeſuits, Fanaticks, *and* Common-wealths-men; *that is, you muſt act not only contrary to the good Old*

Engliſh

English Laws, *but to the Laws of* God *and* Nature: *And so I leave you to consider of the Papers; which if you do, without Prejudice, I doubt not but you'll be convinced, that those who stick to the Old* English *Constitution, have* Law, Reason, *and* Scripture *on their side; and their Adversaries neither; and that their Principles tend to* Peace *and* good Order; *and their Adversaries to* Confusion, *and every* evil Work. *Now, that God who is the Author of Peace, and Lover of Concord, would open your Eyes, that you may* see the things that belong to your Peace, before they are hid from your Eyes, *is the Prayer of,*

SIR,

Yours, *&c.*

Westminster, Jan. 30. 1704. *Let this be laid as a Foundation,* That Religion or Opinion cannot be of God, which allows Men in any Wickedness. *Wh. Duty of Man,* p. 3.

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FINIS.

HOMILY

AGAINST

Willful Rebellion.

THE first Author of *Rebellion*, the Root of all Vices, and Mother of all Mischiefs, was *Lucifer*, first God's most excellent Creature, and most bounden Subject, who by Rebelling against the Majesty of God, of the highest and most glorious Angel, is become the blackest and most foul Fiend and Devil; and from the Heighth of Heaven, is fallen into the Pit and Bottom of Hell.

Here you may see the first Author and Founder of *Rebellion*, and the Reward thereof; here you may see the grand Captain and Father of Rebels.

In reading of the Holy Scriptures, we shall find in very many, and almost infinite places, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, That Kings and Princes, as well the EVIL as the GOOD, do reign by GODS ORDINANCE, and that Subjects are bounden to obey them: That *God* gives Princes *Wisdom*, great Power and Authority ——and that the Subject that Provokes the King to displeasure sins against his own Soul.

From these two places [*viz. Rom.* 13. & 1 *Pet.* 2.] of the Holy Scriptures, it is most evident, that Kings and Queens and other Princes, (for he [St. *Paul*]

ſpeaks of Authority and Power be it in Men or Women) are ORDAIN'D of GOD, are to be Obey'd and Honour'd of their *Subjects*. That ſuch Subjects as are diſobedient or Rebellious againſt their Princes diſobey GOD, and procure their own *Damnation*: That the Government of Princes is a great Bleſſing of GOD, given for the Common-wealth, eſpecially of the *Good* and Godly; for the Comforting and Cheriſhing of whom GOD *gives* and *ſets* up Princes; and on the contrary part, to the fear and for the puniſhment of the *Evil* and *Wicked*. Finally, that if *Servants* ought to obey their *Maſters*, not only being *Gentle*, but ſuch as be FROWARD; as well and much more ought *Subjects* to be obedient, not only to their GOOD and CURTEOUS, but alſo to their SHARP and RIGOROUS *Princes*. It comes therefore neither of *Chance* and *Fortune* (as they term it) nor of the *Ambition* of Mortal Men and Women climbing up of their *own accord* to Dominion, that there be Kings, but all Kings, Queens, Princes and other Governours are SPECIALLY appointed by the ORDINANCE of GOD.

Well is thee, O thou Land (ſaith the Preacher) whoſe King is come of Nobles, *&c. Eccleſ.* 10. 16. Again, a wiſe and righteous King makes his Realm and People Wealthy: *Prov.* 16. & 29. and a Good, Merciful, and Gracious Prince, is as a Shadow in Heat, as a Defence in Storms, *Eccleſ.* 10. as Dew, as Sweet Showers, as freſh water ſprings in great draught. *Iſa.* 32.

Again, the Scriptures, of Undiſcreet and Evil Princes, ſpeak thus, Wo be to thee (O thou Land) whoſe King is but a Child, and whoſe Princes are early at their Banquets. *Eccl.* 10. 16. Again, when the Wicked do Reign, then Men go to Ruin. And again, a Fooliſh Prince deſtroys the People, and a Covetous King undoes his Subjects. *Prov.* 28. 29. Thus ſpeak the Scriptures thus Experience teſtifieth of *Good* and *Evil* Princes.

Ob. *What ſhall Subjects do then? Shall they obey* Stout, Wiſe, *and* Good *Princes, and contemn, diſobey and Rebel*

Rebel againſt CHILDREN being their Princes, or againſt INDISCREET and EVIL Governours?

Anſw. God forbid, for firſt, what a perilous thing were it to commit unto the Subjects the Judgment, Which Prince is Wiſe and Godly, and his Government Good, and Which is otherwiſe, as though the Foot muſt judge the Head; an Enterprize very Hainous and muſt needs breed Rebellion. For who elſe be they that are moſt inclin'd to Rebellion, but ſuch HAUGHTY Spirits? Is not Rebellion the GREATEST of all Miſchiefs? And who are moſt ready to the greateſt Miſchiefs but the *Worſt* Men; Indeed a REBEL is worſe than the WORST *Prince*, and Rebellion worſe than the WORST *Government*; of the WORST Prince that hitherto hath been.

Ob. *But what if this Prince be INDISCREET and EVIL INDEED, and this is alſo evident to all Mens Eyes; that he is ſo?*

Anſ. I ask again, what if it be long of the WICKEDNESS of the SUBJECTS, that their *Prince* is *Indiſcreet* and *Evil!* Shall the *Subjects* both by their Wickedneſs provoke GOD for their deſerved Puniſhment, to give them an *Indiſcreet* or *Evil* Prince, and alſo Rebel againſt *him*, and withal againſt GOD, who for the puniſhment of ther Sins did give them ſuch a Prince? GOD placeth on the Throne as well EVIL Princes as GOOD, if therefore we will have a *Good Prince* either to be given us, or continue, let us by our Obedience to *God* and our *Prince*, move God thereunto: If we will have an *Evil Prince* (when *God* ſhall ſend ſuch a one) taken away, and a GOOD one put in his place, let us take away our *Wickedneſs*, which provoked GOD to place ſuch a one over us, and GOD will either diſplace him, or of an *Evil* Prince make him a *Good* Prince, ſo that we firſt change our evil into good. —— For Subjects to deſerve through their Sins to have an *Evil* Prince, and then to Rebel againſt him, were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them. Nay let us either deſerve to have a *Good Prince*, or let us patiently ſuffer and obey ſuch as we deſerve.

Saul was the worſt of Kings, and out of God's Favour, a and mortal Enemy to *David*, and yet *David*, tho' *Heir apparent* to the Crown, and in *favour* with *God*, would neither himſelf ſlay nor hurt ſuch an Enemy, for that he was his *Prince* and *Lord*; nor would ſuffer any other to kill, hurt, or lay hand upon him, when he might have been ſlain without any ſtir, tumult, or danger of any Man's Life: Now let *David* anſwer to ſuch Demands as Men DESIROUS OF REBELLION uſe to make.

Demand. *Shall not we, ſpecially being ſo good Men as we are, Riſe and Rebel againſt a* Prince HATED *of* GOD, *and* GOD'S ENEMY; *and therefore likely not to proſper either in* War *or* Peace, *but to be HURTFUL and PERNICIOUS to the Kingdom?*

Anſwer. No, *&c.* Saith good and godly *David*, *GOD'S* and *Such* a King's faithful Subject. And ſo convicting ſuch Subjects as attempt any Rebellion againſt SUCH a King, to be neither GOOD SUBJECTS nor GOOD MEN.

Dem. *But ſay they, Shall we not Riſe and Rebel againſt ſo UNKIND a* Prince, *nothing conſidering or regarding our true, faithful, and painful Service, or the ſafeguard of our Poſterity?*

Anſw. No; ſaith good *David*, whom no ſuch unkindneſs could cauſe to forſake his DUE OBEDIENCE to his *Sovereign.*

Dem. *Shall we not*, ſay they, *Riſe and Rebel againſt our KNOWN, MORTAL and DEADLY* Enemy, *that ſeeketh our Lives?*

Anſw. No, ſaith godly *David*, who had learnt the Leſſon, that our Saviour afterward plainly taught, That we ſhould do no hurt to our fellow Subjects, tho' they hate us, and be our Enemies: MUCH LESS unto our *Prince*, tho he were OUR ENEMY.

Dem. *Shall we not aſſemble an Army of ſuch good Fellows as we are, and by hazarding our Lives, and the Lives of ſuch as ſhall withſtand us; and withal hazarding the whole Eſtate of our Country, remove ſo NAUGHTY a* Prince?

Anſw.

Answ. No, saith godly *David*; For I, when I might, without assembling Force, or Number of Men, without tumult or hazard of any Man's Life, or shedding of any drop of Blood, have deliver'd my self and my Country of an EVIL *Prince*, yet would I not do it.

Dem. *Are not they* (say some) *Lusty and Courageous Captains, Valiant Men of Stomach, and good Mens Bodies, that do venture by force to KILL and DEPOSE their King, being a NAUGHTY* Prince, *and their MORTAL ENEMY?*

Answ. They may be as Lusty and Courageous as they list; yet, saith godly *David*, they can be no GOOD nor GODLY MEN that so do, *&c.*

Dem. *What shall we then do, to an EVIL, to an UNKIND* Prince, *an* Enemy *to us, HATED of GOD, HURTFUL to his* People, *&c.*

Answ. Lay no violent hand upon him, saith good *David*; but let him live until GOD appoint, and work his end, either by *Natural Death*, or in *War by LAWFUL Enemies*, *not* by *TRAYTEROUS SUBJECTS.*

In the third Homily, against Willful Rebellion, is shewn, That Rebels are guilty of the Breach of all the *Ten Commandments*; and that they are commonly rewarded with shameful Deaths here, and Eternal Damnation hereafter, if they repent not (as they commonly do not.) Moreover it is declared, That Heaven is the place of good obedient Subjects; and Hell the Prison and Dungeon of Rebels against GOD and their PRINCE.

In the fourth Homily, against Wilful Rebellion, it is said, that tho' they, [*i. e.* not only great multitudes of rude and Rascally Commons, but sometimes Men of great Wit, Nobility and Authority,] should move Rebellions against their *Lawful* Princes, and that tho' they *should* pretend sundry Causes, As the *Redress* of the Commonwealth (which Rebellion of all other Mischiefs doth most destroy) or *Reformation* of *Religion*, (whereas Rebellion is most against all True Religion) yet God allows neither the *Dig-*

nity of any *Perſon*, nor the *Multitude* of any *People*, nor the *Weight* of any *Cauſe*, as ſufficient for the which Subjects may move *Rebellion* againſt their *Princes*.

The fifth and ſixth Homily againſt Wilful Rebellion, are againſt the Uſurpation of *Popes* over *Temporal* Princes; and their *Diſpenſing* with *Oaths*, and *Abſolving* Subjects from their *Fidelity*.

Homily or Sermon of Obedience.

HEre let us mark well, [on *Prov.* 8. 15, 16, 17.] and remember, That the high Power and Authority of Kings, with their making of Laws, Judgments and Offices, are the ORDINANCES not of MAN, but of GOD. ——Here is alſo well to be conſidered and remembred, That this good Order [of Kings] is appointed by *GOD's Wiſdom*, *Favour*, and *Love*, eſpecially for them that love God; and therefore he ſaith, *I love them that love me.* ——Let us learn alſo by the Infallible and Undeceivable Word of God, That Kings and other Supream and Higher Officers are ORDAINED of GOD, who is moſt high: And therefore they are taught diligently to apply and give themſelves to Knowledge and Wiſdom, neceſſary for the Ordering of God's People to their Governance committed, or whom to Govern they are charg'd of GOD. And they be here alſo taught by Almighty God, that they ſhould acknowledge themſelves to have all their *Power* and *Strength*, not from *Rome*, but IMMEDIATELY from GOD MOST HIGH. We read in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, [Ch. 32. 35.] That all puniſhment pertains to God, by this Sentence, *Vengeance is mine, I will reward.* But this Sentence we muſt underſtand to pertain alſo unto *Magiſtrates*, which do exerciſe *Gods room in Judgment*, and puniſhing by good and godly Laws here on Earth. And the places of Scripture which ſeem to remove from among all Chriſtian Men, *Judgment*, *Puniſhment*, or *Killing*, ought to be underſtood, that no Man (of his own private Authority) may be Judge over others, may puniſh, or may kill: But we muſt refer all Judgment to *God*, to *Kings*, and *Rulers*, Judges under them

them, which be *GOD'S Officers* to execute Juſtice; and by plain words of Scripture, have their *Authority* and uſe of the *Sword* granted from *GOD*, as we are taught by St. *Paul*, that Dear and Choſen Apoſtle of our Saviour Chriſt, whom we ought diligently to obey, even as we would obey our Saviour *Chriſt*, if he were preſent, *Rom.* 13. 1. —— Here let us learn of St. *Paul*, the Choſen Veſſel of God, that all Perſons having Souls (he excepteth none, nor exempteth none, neither Prieſt, Apoſtle, nor Prophet, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) do owe of bounden duty, and even in *Conſcience*, Obedience, Submiſſion, and Subjection to the *Higher Power*, which be ſet in Authority by *GOD*, for as much as they be *GOD's Lieutenants*, *GOD's Preſidents*, *GOD's Officers*, *GOD's Commiſſioners*, *GOD's Judges*, *ORDAINED OF GOD HIMSELF*, of whom only they have *ALL* their *Power* and *ALL* their *Authority*. And the ſame St. *Paul* threatens no leſs pain than Everlaſting *DAMNATION* to all *DISOBEDIENT Perſons*, to all *RESISTERS* againſt this general and Common *Authority*, foraſmuch as they Reſiſt not *MAN*, but *GOD*; not *MAN's Device* and *Invention*, but *GOD's Wiſdom*, *GOD's Order*, *Power* and *Authority*.

Second Part.

ALL *Subjects* are bound to obey [Kings] as *GOD's Miniſters*, yea, altho' they be *EVIL*, not only for *Fear*, but alſo for *Conſcience* ſake. And here (good People) let us all mark diligently, *That it is not lawful for Inferiors and Subjects in ANY CASE, to reſiſt and ſtand againſt the Superiour Powers*: For St. *Paul's* words be plain, *And whoſoever withſtandeth, ſhall get to themſelves DAMNATION: For whoſoever withſtandeth, withſtandeth the ORDINANCE OF GOD.* Our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, and his Apoſtles received many and divers Injuries of the Unfaithful and Wicked Men in Authority; yet we never read that they, or any of them, caus'd any *Sedition* or *Rebellion* againſt *Authority*. We read oft that they patiently ſuffer'd all Troubles, Vexa-

tions, Slanders, Pangs and Pains, and Death it ſelf *Obediently*, without *Tumult* or *Reſiſtance*. They committed their Cauſe to him that judgeth righteouſly, and prayed for their Enemies heartily and earneſtly. They knew that the *Authority* of the *Powers*, was *GOD's ORDINANCE*, and therefore both in their words and deeds, they taught ever Obedience to it, and never TAUGHT nor DID the contrary. The wicked Judge *Pilate*, ſaid to Chriſt, *Knoweſt thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and have power alſo to looſe thee?* Jeſus anſwer'd, *Thou couldſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from ABOVE*; whereby Chriſt taught us plainly that even the *WICKED Rulers* have their *Power* and *Authority* from *GOD*; and therefore it is not Lawful for their Subjects to withſtand them, *altho' they ABUSE their Power*, &c.

The holy Apoſtle St. *Peter* commands *Servants* to be Obedient to their *Maſters*, not only if they be *GOOD* and *GENTLE*, but alſo if they be *EVIL* and *FROWARD*, [1 *Pet.* 2. 17, 18, 19. &c.] affirming that the Vocation and Calling of God's People is to be *Patient* and of the *Suffering ſide*. And there he brings in the Patience of our Saviour *Chriſt*, to perſwade Obedience to Governors, yea, altho' they be *WICKED* and *WRONG-DOERS*, See 1 *Pet.* 3. —— And the Example of *David* cruelly and wrongfully perſecuted by *Saul*, 1 Sam. 18. 19, 20. And here (ſays the Homily) is evidently prov'd, that we may not *withſtand*, nor in *ANY WISE hurt* an *ANOINTED KING*, which is *GOD's Lieutenant*, *Vicegerent*, and *Higheſt Miniſter* in that Country where he is King.

Object. *But peradventure ſome here would ſay, that* David *in his* own defence *might have* killed *King* Saul Lawfully, *and with a* ſafe Conſcience.

Anſw. But holy *David* did know that he might in *NO WISE withſtand*, *hurt*, or *kill* his Sovereign Lord and King: He did know that he was but King *Saul's* Subject, tho' he were in great *FAVOUR* with God, and his Enemy King *Saul OUT OF GOD's FAVOUR*. Th.refore tho' he were never ſo much pro-

provok'd, yet he refus'd utterly to *hurt* the *LORD's ANOINTED:* He durſt not for offending *God* and his *own Conſcience* (altho' he had occaſion and opportunity) once lay his hands upon *GOD's High Officer the King*, whom he did know to be a Perſon *reſerv'd* and *kept* (for his Office ſake) *ONLY* to *GOD's Puniſhment* and *Judgment*, &c.

☞ *Theſe with other Homilies, were confirm'd by Act of Parliament*, Eliz. 13. cap. 12.

Injunctions, Articles, Canons, &c.

Injunct. 1. Ed. VI.

THat all Deans, Arch-deacons, Parſons, Vicars, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſhall faithfully keep and obſerve, and, as far as in them may lye, ſhall cauſe to be kept and obſerv'd of others. All ſingular Laws and Statutes, made as well for the aboliſhing and extirpation of the Biſhop of *Rome*, his pretended and uſurped Power and Juriſdiction, as for the eſtabliſhment and confirmation of the King's Authority, Juriſdiction and Supremacy of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*. And furthermore, all Eccleſiaſtical perſons, having Cure of Souls, ſhall to the uttermoſt of their Wit, Knowledge and Learning, purely, ſincerely, and without any Colour, or Diſſimulation, declare, manifeſt, and open Four times every Year at the leaſt, in their Sermons and other Collations, That the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Power and Juriſdiction having no eſtabliſhment nor ground by the Laws of God, was of moſt juſt Cauſes taken away and aboliſhed, and that therefore no manner of Obedience or Subjection, within his Realms and Dominions, is due unto him. 'And that the King's Power within his 'Realms and Dominions, is the higheſt Power un-'der God, to whom all Men within the ſame Realms 'and Dominions, *by Gods Laws*, owe moſt *Loyalty* and 'Obedience, *afore* and *above* all other *Powers*, and 'Potentates in Earth.

Edw.

Edw. VI. *Artic. of Civil Magiſtrates.*

'The King of *England* is ſupream Head in Earth 'next under Chriſt, of the Church of *England* and '*Ireland*.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*.

'The Civil Magiſtrate is ordain'd, and allow'd of 'God, wherefore we muſt obey him, not only for 'fear of Puniſhment, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.

'The Queens Majeſty hath the chief po- 'wer in this Realm of *England*, and other * *Art.* 37. 'Her Dominions, unto whom the Chief 'Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether 'they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes doth 'appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any 'foreign Juriſdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majeſty the Chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the Mind of ſome dangerous folks to be offended; we give not our Princes the miniſtring God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions alſo ſet forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtify. But that only Prerogative which we ſee to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himſelf, that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees *committed to their charge by God*, whether they be *Eccleſiaſtical* or *Temporal*, and reſtrain with the *Civil* Sword the ſtubborn and evil doers.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*.

Queen Elizabeth's *Injunc.* I.

ALL Eccleſiaſtical perſons having Cure of Souls, ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely and ſincerely (without any Colour or diſſimulation) declare, manifeſt, and open Four times every Year (at the leaſt) in their Sermons and other Collations; That all *Uſurped* and *Forreign* Power, having no eſtabliſhment nor ground by the Law of God) is, for moſt juſt Cauſes, taken away and aboliſhed; and that therefore no manner of Obedi-

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ence, aud Subjection within her Highneſs's Realms and Dominions, is due unto any ſuch *foreign* Power.

'And that the Queens Power within the Realms and 'Dominions, is the HIGHEST POWER under GOD; to whom ALL Men within the 'ſame Realms and Dominions, by GOD's LAW, 'owe MOST Loyalty and Obedience, AFORE 'and ABOVE ALL other *Powers* and *Potentates* 'in the Earth, *vid Can.* 1. *An.* 1603.

'The moſt high and ſacred Order of Kings, is of 'DIVINE RIGHT, being the ORDI-'NANCE OF GOD HIMSELF, founded 'in the PRIME LAWS of NATURE and 'clearly eſtabliſh'd by EXPRESS Text, both of 'the *Old* and *New Teſtaments.* A SUPREME 'POWER is given to this moſt excellent Order, 'by GOD HIMSELF in the Scriptures; which 'is, That Kings ſhould Rule and Command in their 'ſeveral Dominions, All Perſons of what Rank and 'Eſtate ſoever, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil; and 'that they ſhould reſtrain and Puniſh with the Temporal Sword all Wicked Doers.

For any Perſon or Perſons to ſet up, maintain or avow, in any their ſaid Realms, *&c.* under ANY PRETENCE WHATSOEVER, Any INDEPENDANT COACTIVE Power, either PAPAL or POPULAR, (whether *directly* or *indirectly)* is to UNDERMINE their Royal Office, and cunningly to overthrow that moſt *SACRED ORDINANCE*, which GOD HIMSELF hath eſtabliſhed; and ſo is TREASONABLE againſt GOD, as well as againſt the *King.*

For Subjects to bear ARMS againſt their *Kings OFFENSIVE* or *DEFENSIVE*, upon *ANY PRETENCE WHATSOEVER*, is at leaſt to *Reſiſt* the *Powers* which are ORDAIN'D OF GOD; and tho' they do not *Invade* but only *Reſiſt*; St. *Paul* tells them plainly, they *Shall receive to themſelves DAMNATION*, Rom. 13. 2.

LITURGY.

First Collect after the Commandments.

ALmighty God, *&c.*—— So Rule the Heart of THY CHOSEN SERVANT, Our *King* and *Governour*, that he (*knowing* whose MINISTER he is) may, *&c.*——And all his Subjects (duely *conſidering* whoſe AUTHORITY he hath) may faithfully ſerve, honour and humbly obey him in THEE, and for THEE, according to thy Bleſſed WORD and ORDINANCE through Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

King Charles *the Second in the laſt Collect at Morning Prayer, on the* 30*th of* January, *is ſaid to be the* UNDOUBTED HEIR *of his* FATHERS *Crown*, and to ſit upon his *FATHERS Throne.*

In the ſecond *Collect* at Evening Prayer, on the 30th of *January*, the *Throne* is ſaid to be HIS RIGHT.

In the firſt *Collect* on the 29th of *May*, are theſe Words, *Promiſing in* THEE *and for* THEE, all Loyal and dutiful Allegiance to *THINE ANOINTED Servant and his Heirs after him*, &c.

In the ſecond *Collect* on the 29th of *May*, are theſe Words, *O God* who did'ſt——reſtore to us, *and to his* OWN JUST *and* UNDOUBTED RIGHTS, *our Moſt Gracious Lord*, THY SERVANT, King *Charles*, &c.

In the *Collect* on the 29th of *May*, in the Communion Service are theſe words, *O Moſt Gracious God*, &c. ——*who haſt*, &c.——*ſetled* THY SERVANT Our Sovereign Lord King *Charles* in the THRONE *of his FATHERS.*

In the laſt *Collect*, on the 29th of *May*, are theſe Words; *O Lord our God*, &c. *Receive our Humble Prayers, with our Thankſgivings for our Sovereign Lord* Charles, *ſet over us by* THY GRACE AND PROVIDENCE *to be our King*, &c.

The firſt of the *Collects*, viz. That after the Commandments, is part of our *Engliſh* Laws, being confirm'd by Act of Parliament. The others by the King's Authority, and are to be annex'd to the *Com-*

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mon Prayer and *Liturgy* of the *Church of England*, in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of *Charles* the II.

* If we, That are by the ſupream Diſpoſer of all things, plac'd under Authority, want any thing *in* or *for* our Governors, let us apply our ſelves to him, who is *the only Ruler of Princes*, and hath the Hearts of Kings in his Hands (*Prov.* 21. 1.) he can perſwade, convince, and turn them, when they will not take Advice from their Inferiours; and he ONLY is the Judge of their Actions, ſince they are HIS *Servants* and *Subſtitutes* to their own Maſter, they muſt ſtand or fall, and *are only accountable to His Tribunal.* And therefore we have ſo much the more need to pray for them who are to Rule us, that this their mighty Power may be our Safety and our Peace; for if it ſhould be otherwiſe (which God forbid) we neither WILL nor CAN oppoſe them, having no other Arms againſt our Prince, but *Prayers* and *Tears*——. If he [the King] were a *Saul*, or a *Nero*, we ſhould ſin in ceaſing to pray for him (1 *Sam.* 12. 23.) but no Affections or Paſſions are too fervent, no Opportunities too often *to call upon God for our* GRACIOUS *KING*, who is our *Lawful* and *Natural* Liege, Lord, *&c.*——

* We are taught [in the firſt *Collect* for the King after the Commandments] to pray that not only *We*, but that all that are under his Majeſties Dominion, may be Loyal and Faithful, Humble and Obedient, Revering his Authority, obſerving his Laws, and oppoſing all His and our Enemies, that we may ſerve Him with our Eſtates and Perſons (if need be) and never deſert his Intereſt, either for Coſt or Peril; which Prayer we muſt not only make with reſpect to our Temporal felicity, but as *duly conſidering* that the Almighty and Inviſible Governour of the World, doth not rule us immediately by Himſelf, but by *Kings*, to whom he hath *Delegated* his *Authority*; ſo that they bear *HIS Name*, and Act by *HIS Power*; and ſuch as *Rebel*

* *Dr.* Comber's *comp. to the Temple on the Prayer for the King.* * *Dr.* Comber's *comp. to the Altar.*

do

to fight againſt GOD, *Acts* 5. 39. Oppoſe *HIS Word*, and Reſiſt HIS Ordinance, *Rom.* 13. 2. Wherefore we deſire grace to Obey, not only for fear of *Wrath*, but for the *Lords ſake*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. that is for *Conſcience ſake*, Rom. 13. 5. and this will produce the firmeſt and readieſt Obedience to all the Commands of our Governors; when we obſerve them as ſubordinate to the Laws of God, *Eph.* 6. 1. [in the Lord] as far as they do not contradict the plain will of the Almighty, and [for the Lord] *Rom.* 13. 1. that is, becauſe of HIS *Authority* reſted in them. And thus the *beſt Chriſtian* will be the *beſt Subject*. Let us therefore moſt fervently beg that we may all be conſcientiouſly Obedient; and if we deſire that heartily, we ſhall not only obtain grace from God to be ſo, but this Petition is an evidence we are already *Loyal*; and were it ſincerely put up by all, there could be no *Treaſon* nor *Rebellion* harbour'd in our Breaſts; but we ſhould live in Peace, and Pleaſe God, Adorn the Goſpel, *Tit.* 2. 10. Oblige the King, and declare to all the World, that it is not only the *Duty*, but the 'Intereſt of Princes to defend the Religion of *this* 'Church, which makes the *Beſt Men*, and *Loyaleſt* 'Subjects in the World.

Kings are the choiceſt of *GOD's Servants*, and in Scripture peculiarly ſtil'd *HIS Choſen*, Pſal. 89. 3, 19.——We ought to beg with great devotion, that God would Rule over Him, by whoſe Counſels we are ordered, in ſuch wiſe, that he may ever have in his eye the Power and Goodneſs of his great *Maſter*, and always [*Know*, that is] *Conſider* by whom he is *Deputed*, and bear himſelf continually as the *Vicegerent* of *GOD*, by whom *All Kings Reign:* And in all his Actings and Conſultations, that he may aim at nothing ſo much as the advancing the *Divine Glory*, from whence *All his honour is deriv'd.*

Id. *Paraphraſe on the 1ſt Coll. for the King after the Commandments.*

ALmighty God——[we beſeech thee] to Rule the heart of *thy Choſen* [and Anointed] *Servant* K.— [by thy *Providence*, and *His UNDOUBTED Right*]

Right] our King and Governour: That he [always remembring his *Authority* to flow from *Thee*, and] knowing whoſe *Miniſter* [and Vicegerent] he is, [even the *Deputy* of the *Heavenly Majeſty*] may above [and before] all things, ſeek—thy Honour and Glory. And that We, and All [others whom thou haſt placed in the Condition of] his Subjects, [ſeriouſly and] duly conſidering [that for thy ſake] whoſe *Authority* he hath [we owe him all *Duty* and *Allegiance*] may faithfully ſerve [Him with our *Prayers*, *Lives* and *Fortunes*, and alſo] Honour [him in his Perſon, with our Hearts] and humbly obey him [in his Laws by our whole Converſation, ſo far as is poſſible] in *Thee* [by the help of thy Grace] and for *Thee* [and for Thy ſake, by a Conſcientious and exact Obedience] according to [the Commands of] Thy bleſſed *Word* [the Appointment] and *Ordinance* [of thy Supream Providence. O Lord, let us be ſo happy to obtain this] through [the Merits of our great High Prieſt] Jeſus Chriſt [*who hath enjoyn'd this Obedience*, and is] our Lord, [*who ſets up Chriſtian Princes* on Earth to *Rule under him*] who with thee, *&c.*

Acts of Parliament, Lawyers, Hiſtorians, &c.

THe Parliament, 16. *Rich.* 2. 5. affirms, That the Crown of *England* hath been ſo free at all Times, that it hath been in Subjection to no Realm, but *IMMEDIATELY* ſubject to *GOD* (in all things touching the Regality of the ſame Crown) and to *NONE OTHER.*

The Parliament 25 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 2. Declares it Treaſon to *LEVY WAR* againſt our *Lord* the *King* in his Realms, or to be *ADHERENT* to the King's Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort in the Realm or elſewhere.

The State of *England* is a *Kingdom*, *Empire*, *Monarchy*, The *Head* thereof a *SUPREAM Head*, a *Sovereign*, a *KING: His Crown an Imperial Crown*, 25 Hen. 8. c. 22. and 24 Hen. 8. c. 12. and 26 Hen. 8. c. 8. and 1 Eliz. 1. and 1 Jac. 1.

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The *People of* ENGLAND (*Lords* and *Commons*) do *by Law, ſwear ALLEGIANCE to Him, as to the only Supream Governour, and to aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preheminencies and Authorities, belonging to HIM, his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS, or annex'd to the Imperial Crown of this Realm*, 1 Eliz. 1. and 5 Eliz. 1.

The Parliament, 14 *Car.* 2. *c.* 4. declares, That *It is not lawful to take up ARMS againſt the King upon ANY PRETENCE WHATSOEVER, no not upon the account of RELIGION; and that the contrary opinion is TRAITEROUS.*

The Parliament, 12 *Car.* 2. *c.* 30. declares it to have been always an undoubted *FUNDAMENTAL Law of this Kingdom, That neither the PEERS of this Realm, nor the COMMONS, nor BOTH TOGETHER, IN Parliament or OUT of Parliament, nor even the whole People either COLLECTIVELY or REPRESENTATIVELY, nor any other perſon whatſoever, EVER HAD, HAVE, HATH, or OUGHT to have, any COERCIVE POWER, OVER the Perſons of the Kings of this Realm.*

The Parliament, 13 *Car.* 2. *c.* 6. and 14. *c.* 2, 3, declare, *That the ſole Supreme Government, Command and Diſpoſition of the MILITIA, and all FORCES by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength, IS, and by the Laws of* England *EVER WAS the UNDOUBTED RIGHT of His Majeſty*, &c. *And that BOTH or EITHER of the Houſes of Parliament CANNOT nor OUGHT to PRETEND to the ſame; nor can, nor LAWFULLY may RAISE, or LEVY any War, OFFENSIVE or DEFENSIVE againſt His Majeſty.*

The Parliament, 12 *Car.* 2. *c.* 11. and 30. and 14. *c.* 29. declares *The Long Parliament a TRAITEROUS ASSEMBLY; and the Execrable Murder of* Charles *I. and ALL PROCEEDINGS TENDING thereunto, UNPARALLELL'D TREASON.*——*They call the exterminating* Charles II. *TRAITEROUS CONSPIRACIES of USURPING TYRANTS. They call them PERFIDIOUS TRAITORS, REBELLIOUS WICKED TRAITORS. And their Uſurpations*

ABO-

ABOMINABLE USURPATIONS. See the Proclamation for the obſervation of the 30th of *January.*

LAWYERS.

There are under the King Freemen; and Servants are Subject unto *his Power, as alſo whatſoever is under him; and He himſelf* is ſubject unto NO MAN but ONLY to GOD. *Bracton de Leg. Ang.*

If there be any offence committed by Him, [*the King*] *for as much as there is* no *Brevè, to inforce or conſtrain him, there may be Supplication made that he would correct and amend his faults; which if he ſhould not do, it is abundantly ſufficient puniſhment for him, that he is to expect GOD a REVENGER, for no Man may preſume judicially to examine his Doings, MUCH LESS to oppoſe him by VIOLENCE and FORCE.* *Id. l.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 5.

To DEPOSE the King, or take him by FORCE, or IMPRISON him, until he hath yielded to certain demands, is adjudg'd *Treaſon*, in the Lord *Cobham*'s Caſe.

'Tis High Treaſon, by the *Law* of the *Land*, to levy *War* againſt the King, to *Compaſs* or *imagine* his *Death.*

Peruſe over all our Books, Records, and Hiſtories; and you ſhall find a Principle in Law; a Rule in Reaſon; and a Tryal in Experience; that Treaſon doth ever produce fatal and final Deſtruction to the Offender, and never attained to the deſired end (two incidents inſeparable thereunto) and therefore, let all Men abandon it, as the moſt Poiſonous Bait of the Devil; and follow the Precept in Holy Scripture, *Fear God, Honour the King, and have no Company with the Seditious.* *Coke Inſtit. part* 3.

By old and ancient Hiſtories that I have read, I do not underſtand that our Nation hath us'd any other general Authority in this Realm, but only the Royal and Kingly Smith's *Com. lib.* 1. *c.* 9.

Kingly Majesty, which at the first was divided into many and Sundry Kings, each *absolutely* reigning in his Country, not under the Subjection of other, till by fighting the one with the other, the overcomed always falling to the augmentation of the vanquisher and overcomer; at last the Realm of *England* grew into one Monarchy. Neither any one of those Kings, neither he who first had all, took any investiture at the Hands of the Emperor of *Rome*, or any other Superior or Forreign Prince, but *held of God* to himself, and by his Sword his People and Crown, acknowledging no Prince on Earth his Superiour, and so it is kept and holden to this Day.

Craig. *Hist. of Suc. p.* 6. We contend that Monarchy is of Divine Original, ordain'd of God, and that no other Form of Government obtain'd among his peculiar People; yea, that no other is so conducive to the safety of any Nation, nor is so agreeable to the Laws of God and Nature. Yea, moreover I undertake to prove (with God's assistance) that it hath been received by the constant practice of all Ages, and perpetual Custom of all Nations.

Id. p. 9. There is no mention of any other Government in all the Scriptures. Our Saviour would never have born that Office of a King, unless he had been perfectly assur'd that Kingdoms were of God's appointment.

Id. p. 10; *and p.* 106. That Order ought inviolably to be kept, which God Himself instituted, *i. e. That all other Creatures are to be subject to, and obey Man, Men to honour their* King, and the King to Obey God, *to whom he is accountable.*

Id. p. 75. All agree that of all Governments, Monarchy, and Hereditary Monarchy which is by Succession, is the best; for it is attended with most Advantages, and is liable to the fewest inconveniencies.

Lord Clarendon's Survey *of the* Leviathan, p. 61. It is a known Maxime in all Hereditary Monarchies, that the King never Dies, because in the Minute of the Expiration of the present, his Heir succeeds

ceeds him, and is in the inſtant inveſted in all the Dignities, and Preheminencies of which the other had been poſſeſs'd; and if there were no other Error, or falſe Doctrine in the *Leviathan* (as there are very many of a very Pernicious Nature) that would be cauſe enough to ſuppreſs it in all Kingdoms.

God *inſtituted* Monarchy, and only permits the other Forms. Warwick *of Gover. p.* 13.

We all know, that our Government is a *mixt* Monarchy, and yet by all Foreigners (as *Bodin*, *Grotius*, and others) is reputed an *abſolute* Monarchy; for Limitations, which transfer not the *Power* unto any other, but require only the *Conſent* of ſome other, diveſt it not of the Title of Monarchy, or of the King's being an *Abſolute*, tho' not an *Arbitrary* Monarch. Warwick *of Gover. p.* 51.

Allegiance is to be ſworn to the King, and Homage paid, not only by every ſingle Perſon through the Kingdom, but by every ſingle Member of his Two Houſes of Parliament; for not one of them can ſit there before he hath taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; and he that reads either of theſe Oaths, needs not ſeek where the Sovereignty is lodg'd: And tho' theſe Oaths were form'd principally to diſclaim Papal Juriſdiction, yet, that abated, they are but the Old Legal Oath of Obedience. *Id. p.* 42.

The Parliament may repreſent, what they ſuppoſe would tend to publick utility, ſubmitting it to the Royal Pleaſure. In a Word, the Houſes may *propoſe*, but it is the King that *determines*; for he *accepts* or *rejects*, and *what he accepts is only a Law*, and *His* Law only; for his Houſes *pray* a Law, but he *Enacts* it; for Authority muſt be ſingle, and therefore our Laws call him, *the Beginning, Head, and End of the Parliament*, which ſurely excludes all pretence to *Co-ordination*. *Id. p.* 47.

Thoſe in whom the Sovereign Power is lodg'd, are *Gods Truſtees*, and to God only they are to anſwer for their Truſt. *Id. p.* 18.

Gentlemen, let me tell you what our *Law-books* ſay; for there's the Ground, out of which (and the *Statutes together*) *we muſt draw* all our Concluſions for matter of Government.

Tryal Regicides. Sir Orl. Bridgman's *ſp.* p. 12.

How do they [the *Law-books*, &c.] *ſtile the King? They call* him the Lieutenant of GOD. *And the King is IMMEDIATLY from GOD, and hath no Superiour. The STATUTES ſay, That the Crown of* England *is IMMEDIATELY Subject to GOD, and to* NO OTHER POWER. *The King,* (*ſay our Books*) *He is not only* Caput Populi, *the Head of the People, but* Caput Reipublicæ *the Head of the Commonwealth, the Three Eſtates.* And truly thus our *Statutes* ſpeak very fully. Common Experience tells you; when we ſpeak of the King, and ſo the Statutes of *Edward* the Third, we call the *King* OUR SOVEREIGN LORD THE KING, that is, SUPREME. And when the Lords and Commons in *Parliament*, apply themſelves to the King, they uſe this *Expreſſion, Your Lords and Commons, Your Faithful Subjects, humbly beſeech.* I do not (*ſays the Judge*) *ſpeak* any Words of my *own*, but the words of our *Laws.* Look upon the *Statute Primo Jacobi*, there's a *Recognition, That the Crown of* England was *Lawfully* deſcended on the KING and his PROGENY; and *Primo Eliz. Cap.* 3. They do acknowledge the Imperial Crown *Lawfully* deſcended on the Queen; and Statute 24. *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 12, *Whereas by ſundry old Authentick Hiſtories, and Chronicles, it is manifeſtly declar'd and expreſs'd, that this Realm of* England *is an Empire, and ſo hath been accepted in the World, govern'd by one* Supream *Head and King, having the Dignity, and Royal Eſtate of the* Imperial *Crown* of the ſame, *&c.* And 25. *Hen.* 8. c. 21. *There it is, the People, ſpeaking of themſelves, That they do Recognize no Superior under GOD, but ONLY the KING's GRACE.*

P. 13. *Gentlemen, you ſee, if the King be IMMEDIATE under GOD, he derives his Authority from NO BODY elſe, if the King have an Imperial Power, if the King be Head of the Common wealth, Head of the Body Politick*; if the *Body Politick* owe Him OBEDIENCE; *truly I think*

think it an nndeny'd Conſequence, He muſt needs be Superiour over them.

What is an Imperial Crown? It is that which as to the COERCIVE *part, is ſubject to no MAN under* GOD——*is not ſubject to any Humane Tribunal*, or JUDICATURE WHATSOEVER.

The King is the *Supream Head*, he is not *puniſhable* by any *Coercive* Powers; the Laws provide for that. *The King can do no wrong*, it is a *Rule* of *Law*, it is in our Law-Books *very frequent*. If he can do no wrong, He cannot be puniſh'd for any wrong ——— Now the Law, tho' it *provide for the King*; *yet if any of his Miniſters* do wrong, tho' by his Command, they are puniſhable. *P.* 324.

The King of *Poland has a Crown, but at his Oath of Coronation, it is Condition'd with the People, that if he will not Govern according to ſuch and ſuch Rules, they ſhall be freed from their Homage and Allegiance. But it differs with our King* (Charles) *for he was a King before any Oath taken by him. The King takes his Oath, but not upon any Condition; this I ſhow you to let you ſee that we have no Coercive Power againſt the King.*

I muſt deliver to you for plain, and true Law; That no *Authority, no Single Perſon, no Community of Perſons, nor the People Collectively, or Repreſentatively have any* Coercive *Power over the King of* England. *And again, Page* 322. *Remember That no Power, no Perſon, no Community or Body of Men, not the People, either Collectively or Repreſentatively, have any Coercive Power over the Perſon of the King, by the* Fundamental Laws. *P.* 11.

Mark the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, Gentlemen, I do not know with what Spirit of Equivocation any Man can take that Oath of Supremacy; you ſhall find in *the Articles of the* Church of England, [*Art.* 37.] ——— *That the Queen, and ſo the King, hath the Supreme Power in this Realm, and hath the Chief Government* over all the *Eſtates of the Realm, the words are ſo*——*The Parliament did confirm this Article ſo far, that they appointed that no Man ſhould take, or be* capable of a *Living*, but thoſe that had taken that Oath. God forgive thoſe Miniſters that went againſt it. *P.* 325.

P. 16. The Oath of Allegiance was to defend the *King*, and his *Heirs*, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts, whatſoever, againſt HIS, and THEIR Perſons, their Crowns and Dignities; not only againſt the *Pope*'s Sentence, as ſome would pretend; but AS OTHERWISE, againſt all Attempts, and Conſpiracies, not only againſt His Perſon, Crown and Royal Dignity, nor *Pope*'s Sentence; nor, only in order to the Profeſſion of Religion, but abſolutely, OR OTHERWISE, that is, *whatſoever* Attempts by *any Power Authority* or *Pretence whatſoever*.

P. 17. To Levy War againſt the King's Authority, you muſt know, is *Treaſon*. If Men will take up Arms upon any *Publick Pretence*; if it be to expulſe *Aliens*; if but to pull out *Privy Councellors*; if it be but againſt any *Particular Laws*, to *Reform Religion*, to pull down *Encloſures*. In all theſe Caſes, if Perſons have aſſembled themſelves, in a *Warlike* manner, to do any of theſe Acts; This is *Treaſon*, and within that Branch of Levying War againſt the King.

Vid. Jenk. p. 40.

Coke 5 *Rep. p.* 8, *and p.* 28. By the ancient Laws of this Realm, this Kingdom of *England* is an *abſolute Empire* and *Monarchy* conſiſting of one *Head*, which is the King, and of a *Body Politick*, &c. —— Alſo the *Kingly Head* of this *Politick Body* is inſtituted and furniſhed with *Plenary* and *entire Power*, *Prerogative*, and *Juriſdiction*, to render Juſtice and Right to every Part and Member of this Body.

Id. p. 10. The King, who is the *Vicar* of the higheſt King, is ordain'd to this end, that he ſhould govern and rule the Kingdom and People of the Land, and above all things the Holy Church, and that he defend the ſame from wrong-doers, and deſtroy and root out Workers of Miſchief. *S. Edw. Laws*, Cap. 19.

Id. P. 39. The Kings of *England*, who are MONARCHS, and *Abſolute Princes*, hold their Kingdoms and Dominions by *Lawful*

ful Succeſſion, and by *Inherent Birth-right*, and deſcent of Inheritance, (according to the FUNDAMENTAL Laws of this Realm) IMMEDIATELY of Almighty GOD, and are not Tenants of their Kingdoms (as they, the Jeſuits and Prieſts would have it) at the Will and Pleaſure of *any* Forraign Potentate whatſoever.

The King holdeth the Kingdom of *England* by *Birth-right Inherent*, by *Deſcent* from the *Blood Royal*, whereupon *Succeſſion* doth attend; and therefore it is uſually ſaid, to the *King* his *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, wherein *Heirs* is firſt nam'd, and *Succeſſors* is attendant upon *Heirs*. And yet in our Ancient Books, *Succeſſion* and *Succeſſor* are taken for *Hereditance* and *Heirs*, *Bracton. lib.* 2. *Cap.* 29. *Coke's Reports* 7. p.

The Title (to the Crown of *England*) is by *Deſcent*; by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, the Crown and Kingdom of *England* deſcended to his Majeſty [King *James*] and he was fully and abſolutely thereby King, without any Eſſential Ceremony, or Act to be done *ex poſt facto*; for *Coronation* is but a Royal Ornament and Solemnization of the Royal Deſcent, but no part of the Title. *Id. ibid.*

It was clearly reſolv'd by all the Judges of *England*, that preſently by the *Deſcent* His Majeſty [King *James*] was *compleatly* and *abſolutely* King without any eſſential Ceremony, or act to be done *ex poſt facto*; and that *Coronation* was but a Royal Ornament and outward Solemnization of Deſcent, and this appears evidently by infinite Preſidents and Book Caſes as (——) King *Henry* the VIth was not crown'd till the Eighth Year of his Reign, and yet divers Men before his Coronation were attainted of Treaſon, Felony, *&c.*——by which it manifeſtly appears, that by the Laws of *England*, there can be no *Interregnum* within the ſame. *Id. p.* 10.

Ligeance or *Obedience* of the Subject to the Sovereign is due by the *Law* of *Nature*, which is part of the Laws of *Coke Rep.* 7. *p.* 4.

England, was before any Judicial or Municipal Laws in the World, and is immutable and cannot be chang'd.

Id. ibid. *Ligeance* is *True* and *Faithful Obedience* of the *Subject* due to his *Sovereign*. This *Ligeance* and *Obedience* is an incident inſeparable to every Subject; for aſſoon as he is born he oweth by *birth-right* Ligeance and Obedience to his Sovereign.

Id. p. 5. Subjects are called *Liege People*; and the King is called the *Liege Lord* of his Subjects.

Id. p. 12. *Ligeance* or *Faith* of the Subject, is *proprium quarto modo* to the King, *omni, ſoli, & ſemper.*

Id. p. 13. Whatſoever is neceſſary and profitable for the preſervation of the Society of Man, is due by the Law of *Nature*: But Magiſtracy and Government are neceſſary and profitable for the preſervation of the Society of Man; therefore Magiſtracy and Government are of *Nature.*

The Law of *Nature* is an Eternal Law.

Cokes Rep. 7. *p.* 10. *Ligeance* is due only to the King. It is true, that the King has two *Capacities* in him: One a *natural Body*, being deſcended of the *Blood Royal* of the Realm; and this Body is of the Creation of Almighty God, and is ſubject to Death, Infirmity, and ſuch like; the other is a *Politick Body* or *Capacity*, ſo call'd becauſe it is fram'd by the Policy of Man, and in this Capacity the King is eſteem'd to be *Immortal, Inviſible, not ſubject to Death, Infirmity, Infancy, Nonage*, &c. Now ſeeing the King hath but one *Perſon*, and ſeveral *Capacities* ( ) it is neceſſary to be conſidered to which Capacity *Ligeance* is due.

In Calvin's *Caſe.* It was reſolv'd, That *Ligeance* was due to the *Natural Perſon* of the King (which is ever accompany'd with the *Politick Capacity*, and the *Politick Capacity* as it were appropriated to the *Natural Capacity*) and is not due to the *Politick Capacity* only, that is, to the *Crown* or *Kingdom*, diſtinct from his *Natural Capacity.*

In

In the Reign of *Edw.* 2. the *Spencers* the Father and the Son, to cover the Treaſon hatch'd in their Hearts, invented this Damnable and Damn'd Opinion, that Homage and Oath of *Ligeance* was more by reaſon of the *King's Crown* (that is, of his *Politick Capacity*) than by reaſon of the *Perſon* of the King, upon which opinion they inferr'd execrable and deteſtable Conſequents. 1. If the King do not demean himſelf by Reaſon in the right of his Crown, his Lieges are bound by Oath to remove the King. 2. Seeing that the King could not be reform'd by Suit of Law, that ought to be done *per aſpertos*. 3. That his Lieges be bound to Govern in Aid of him, and in default of him; all which were condemn'd in two Parliaments, *&c.* *Id.* 11.

It appears, *Rot. Parliam.* 42. *Num.* 7. called, *Lex & Conſuetudo Parliamenti*, cited by Sir *Edward Coke* in the 4th part of his Inſtitutes, *page* 13, and 14. *That the Lords and Commons in full Parliament, did declare, that they could not aſſent to any thing in Parliament, that tended to the diſinheriſon of the King and his Crown whereunto they were Sworn.* By the Statute of 16 *Rich.* 2. *Cap.* 5. King *Richard* the Second is by the Parliament called their *Redoubted Sovereign Lord*, and the People his *Leige People*; And by Parliament in the body of that Act, it is acknowledg'd, *That the Crown of* England *hath been ſo free at all times; that it hath been in ſubjection to no Realm, but immediately ſubject to God, and to none other in all things touching the Regality of the ſame Crown*; notwithſtanding that afterwards, Wars was Levied againſt him by his Subjects, and he was *againſt all Law and Right*, Depoſed, or enforc'd to make a ſurrender of his Crown, or at leaſt they *pretended* he did ſo, tho' ſome Hiſtorians doubt whether he ever conſented to it, being Murther'd, to make way for King *Henry* 4. who had very ſmall pretence to the Crown, as Men learned in the Laws of this Realm have in all time ſince held; which——*horrid* act, tho' it gave ſome *preſent* ſecurity, to ſome particular Perſons that were then active in his deſtruction; yet it coſt this

Looking-glaſs for the Parliament, Printed 1648. *p.* 26.

this Kingdom in general very dear, in the expence of Blood and Treaſure in the ſucceeding times, by Bloody Civil Wars, wherein the decay of Men by thoſe Wars was ſo great, that many judicious Hiſtorians are of opinion, that the number of Men loſt in thoſe Wars was not recruited or made up by a following progeny, till the beginning of King *James* his Reign; and it is to be fear'd that this Blood is not expiated and dry'd up in this Land, *&c.*

Bp. Sanderſ. 14 *Sermons* ad Aulam.

It is an Obſervation grounded upon manyfold *experience*, That where the *Right Heirs* have been *diſinherited* upon almoſt whatſoever pretence; the Bleſſing of God hath not uſually followed upon the *Perſons*, and ſeldom hath the Eſtate proſper'd in the hands of thoſe that have *ſucceeded* in their rooms.

G. B's *Reflect. on* Oxford *Theſ. p.* 33.

As a Baſtard is ſtill a Baſtard even tho' he were legitimated by Act of Parliament; ſo a Lawful Child is ſtill what 'tis, notwithſtanding a Sentence of Baſtardy confirm'd in Parliament.

Infants are more particularly under the Protection of the Law, and therefore Acts paſt againſt them in that State of feebleneſs have ſuch flaws in them, that they have always a right to reverſe them—Such an an Act may be a *forcible* bar in Law, but can be no *juſt* one.

Craig's *Hiſt. Succ.* p. 108.

The Right of *Succeſſion* is rooted ſo deeply in the minds of Men, that it can hardly be ſhaken; but it is quite impoſſible to pull it out of them.

Id. p. 5.

Is there any Man who is a Friend to Civil Society, or deſires heartily the Peace and Tranquillity of his Country, but will reckon that this Controverſy concerning the *Succeſſion*, ought to be determin'd from the undoubted Laws of *God* and *Men*.

Id. 109.

When thoſe things which a *juris naturalis*, that is, which are introduc'd by the inſtinct of Nature, and not by any Conſtitution, are reckon'd up expreſly as Laws, *Succeſſion* of

of Children is added to them; intimating that *Succeſſion* is from the *Law* of *Nature*, and not from the *Civil* Law.

'Tis evident that the *Succeſſion* of Children, *&c.* is the *Right* or *Law* of *Nature*, and therefore is not under the power of any perſon to alter it. *Id.* 110.

No tolerable account can be given why our Adverſary ſhould allow *Hereditary Rights*, or the Rights of *Inheritance* in the Succeſſions of private Men, which they cannot deny to be deriv'd from *Natural Right*, and refuſe it in the Succeſſion of *Kings*; nor why the Royal Children of Deſcendants ſhould be defrauded of the juſt reward of their Fathers Merits and Virtues, or of their Right to Succeed them, more than Private Men can be refus'd or defrauded of their reſpective Succeſſions. *Ibid.*

If either a King, or the Eſtates of a Kingdom, deſtroy the *Natural Law* or *Right* of *Succeſſion* devolv'd from *Nature*——they plainly oppugn and ſubvert the *Rights* and *Laws* of *Nature*; and yet God Almighty has engraven the ſame Nature on the minds of Men, againſt which no written Law, nor any Pontifical Canon, no not any thing that can be ſaid or done by Men can take place. For the *Law* of *Nature* is the firſt Rule of Morality, and is not to be reckon'd the Law of *Men*, but of *God* himſelf, which we draw from Nature her ſelf, and with Life it ſelf, by which alſo Princes themſelves are much more bound than their Subjects. So that neither *Senate* nor *King*, either by their *Statutes* or their *Interdictions*, can aboliſh it.——'Tis moſt certain that *Succeſſion* is a *Right* of *Blood*; but it ſeems very ſtrange that the *Rights* of *Blood* ſhould be annulled, by *Statute*, *Law*, or any Civil or Poſitive *Ordinance*, ſeeing the Rights of Blood, *nulli civili vinculo ſint obnoxia*, are not ſubject to any civil bond. *Ib.* 122.

'Tis truly the voice of all Lawyers, univerſally receiv'd, as a moſt ſure Rule in their Schools, *That the Natural Laws or Rights are immutable*; for, ſay they, *A Prince cannot diſannul either* the Law of *Nature*, nor ſuch Laws as derive from it. *Id. p.* 123.

All

All the Canons conclude, *That a Prince*
Id. p. 125. *cannot, from the Plenitude of his Power, take away an Inheritance from him to whom it belongs by Law.* The Divine Law forbids us to *wrong any Man*, and commands us to do to others as we would have others do to us, *Matt.* 6. for on this great Rule of Juſtice *hang the Law and the Prophets.* And ſuch as Diſinherit a *True Heir*, are by the Civil Law call'd *Offendsrs* againſt *Nature*, and the Authors of Injuries.

A Father has not power to do any thing to the pre-
judice of his Son, who is to ſucceed in the
Id. p. 126. Kingdom——For *Succeſſion in Hereditary Kingdoms is ſo truly the right of the Succeſſor, that it is inſeparable, and cannot by any means be ſever'd from him.*

Succeſſion by Blood is *ex jure naturali*,
Id. p. 11. from the Law of *Nature*.

The word *Natural Lord*, or Prince, is
Id. ibid. frequently mention'd in our Engliſh Statutes, and frequently us'd by our Hiſtorians.

Id. p. 15. The Caſe is Naturally much the ſame in Families and Kingdoms, with this difference, that in thoſe Reverential *Honour*, in theſe, *Laws* make Men Dutiful and Obedient. None were ſent to School to learn to Honour their Father, that being *Natural* to Children, who have their Being from him; for the ſame reaſon we are *Naturally* obliged to pay *Honour* and Obſervance to our Prince, as the *Common Father* of the Country to whom we owe our well being in Civil Society.

'Tis certainly a new and unprecedented
Id. p. 133. thing, and ſuch as the like had never been heard of before, that a free and full power to diſpoſe of the Kingdom, ſuppreſſing as it were the Right of both Families [*York* and *Lancaſter*] ſhould be given to the King [*Henry* VIIIth] himſelf, by two or three Statutes. But even that Statute vaniſhed into Smoak; for the Eldeſt Daughter *Mary*, and afterwards *Elizabeth*, *Edward*, that moſt Excellent Prince being dead, did ſucceed, not upon account of the *Statute*, for then they had not been, nor could they have

have been call'd *Natural* Sovereigns, for this Reaſon, becauſe they who were call'd to the Succeſſion by any ſpecial Privilege that is allow'd them, or by Virtue of any Statute in favour of them, are not *Natural* Princes; but only ſuch as ſucceed in the Kingdom by *Nature* and the *Right* of *Blood*, or *Birth*, which can never be taken away by any Civil Bond or Statute; for there is a vaſt difference between *Nature* and any *Statute* of Men; nay, both the Queens, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, in the beginning of their reſpective Reigns, in their very firſt Parliaments, took care to clear this Point, *That it was not by Virtue of any Statutary Proviſions that had been made, but by the ſole Right of Succeſſion, as Heirs deſcended of* Henry, *that they had their Acceſſions to the Kingdom.*

The Rebellion againſt King *Charles* the firſt, is call'd by the Parliament the 12. *Car.* 2. a Bloody and UNNATURAL War. See the Proclamation for the Obſervation of the Thirtieth of *January.*

Whatever acceptation it (That is *Trajan*'s Saying to one of his Captains at the delivering of a Sword to him, *Take this, and if I govern well, uſe it for me, but if ill, againſt me*) will bear, there is nothing more illogical, impertinent, or abſurd, than to alledge it as an Authentick Plea for Subjects, by force to amend the ſuſpected irregularities of their Governours, yet to this uſe have a great many late *Demagogues* moſt pertly apply'd it in Challenge and Defiance to all evident reſtrictions of *Nature*'s and *Religion*'s Laws.

Preface to the Tranſlat. of Pliny's *Panegyr.*

Succeſſion in Kingdoms, in moſt part of the World, in former time hath been, and at this Day is by right of Blood (a few only excepted, which are Elective as the Kingdom of *Poland* is at this Day) and in Succeſſion, the Eldeſt Son taketh place before the reſt; and if there be no Heir Male, then the Eldeſt Daughter ſucceedeth in the Kingdom, and her iſſue; for Kingdoms (as all Succeſſion in other Dignities) are impartible.

Ridley's *view of the Civil and Eccl. Law part.* 2. *c.* 1. *S.* 8.

Me-

Lord Clarendon's *Survey of* Hobbs's *Leviathan*, p. 61.

Methinks his [Mr. *Hobbs*] own Natural Fear of Danger, which made him fly out of *France*, as soon as his *Leviathan* was publiſhed, and brought into that Kingdom, ſhould have terrify'd him from invading the Right of all *Hereditary* Monarchies in the World, by declaring, that by the *Law of Nature* which is *Immutable*, it is in the Power of the preſent Sovereign to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion, and to appoint who ſhall ſucceed him in the Government; and that the Word [*Heir*] doth not of it ſelf imply the *Children*, or *neareſt Kindred* of a Man; but *whomſoever* a Man ſhall any way declare he would have ſucceed him, *Contrary to the known Right and Eſtabliſhment throughout the World, and which would ſhake, if not diſſolve, the Peace of all Kingdoms.*

The Civilians and we [common Lawyers] have different acceptations of the Word HEIR, for they call him an *Heir*, who the *Teſtator* nominates in his *Will*, and we him who is *next of Kin* to the Party deceas'd, unto whom a Fee doth of Right belong after the Death of the Anceſtor, ſo that we come proverbially to ſay, *It is not MAN but* GOD *who maketh Heirs*, and that HÆRES comes from HÆREDITAS unto which SUCCESSION is by RIGHT of BLOOD. *Cowels Inſtit.* l. 2. *Tit.* 14.

Rel. & Loyalty p. 17.

He who hath no Title by *Blood*, and and is only *elected* by the People, is no other than an *Uſurper*.

Grand Queſt. p. 80.

The Act of the 1. Edv. 3. was not barely repeal'd, but declar'd in Parliament to be *Unlawful*, becauſe *Ed.* II. was Living, and *True King*, and impriſon'd by his Subjects, at the time of that very Parliament.

Cotton's Abridg. Records p. 372.

Thomas Le Deſpenſer, Earl of *Gloceſter exhibits two Bills, requiring by the firſt*, that the *Revocation of the Exile of Sir* Hugh Le Diſpenſer, *the Father of his Anceſtor, made in* 15. *Edv.* 2. *might* be *brought before the King and* confirm'd, *and that the Repeal* of the ſame made in the 1. Edv. 3. might be revoked.

The

The Lords being *ſeverally demanded what they thought of the ſaid Repeal*, made in the 1 Edv. 3. thought the ſame unlawful; whereupon the King by full aſſent revoketh the Repeal aforeſaid, and confirms the Revocation made 15. *Edv.* 2. and *reſtores* the ſaid Earl to all the Inheritance of the ſaid *Hugh*, &c. [the Reaſon upon which the ſaid Earl obtain'd *his Judgment was that*] *the ſaid Repeal was made by Edv.* 3. *at ſuch time as Edv.* 2. *his Father* BEING VERY KING, was living and impriſon'd, that he could not reſiſt the ſame.

The Parliament of 21. Rich. II. *was not Legally Repeal'd, for in truth* Rich. II. *was Lawful King and* Hen. IV. was but an Uſurper: *Nay, I add further, that* Rich. II. *was alive and in Priſon, when* Hen. IV. *Repeal'd the Parliament of* 21. Rich. II. For ſo it is ſaid in the very Act of Repeal, *That* Richard *the* II. *late King of* England, *was purſu'd, taken, put in Ward, and yet remaineth in Ward; and now I leave it to* ——, *whether a Parliament call'd by a* LAWFUL *King, and the Acts of it, ought to be deem'd, Legally Repeal'd by a Parliament that was call'd by an* USURPER, *and held whilſt the* LAWFUL King was alive, and detain'd in Priſon. *Grand Queſt.* p. 83.

The Three *Henries* were *Uſurpers*, and therefore I deſire to be ſatisfy'd, whether an *Uſurper by a Parliament of his calling, can Null and Repeal what was done by a KING* and his Parliament. *If he may, then the King* [Ch. II.] *loſt his TITLE to the CROWN by the late USURPERS; if not, then the Parliament* 21. Rich. II. could not be repeal'd by that of. 1. *Hen.* IV. *Id. p.* 58.

A Parliament (*Stat.* 1. *Edv.*4.*Cap.* 4.) *declar'd that none* of the Three Henries ever were *Rightful Kings, and that Act* calls them *always late, pretended Kings; yet they had as good Right as Parliaments could give them, which it ſeems in the Opinion even of a Parliament, cannot make a Rightful King*, when there is a *Nearer in Blood*. *Religion and Loyalty*, p. 28.

Birth-

Birth-right and Proximity of Blood give no Title to Rule or Government, and it is Lawful to præscind the *next Heir, from his RIGHT and SUCCESSION, to the Crown*; *This Proposition is condemn'd, by the Universsity of* Oxford 1683. as *False, Impious and Seditious*, &c.

Oxf. *Decree prop.* 5. 1683. *vid. App.*

It is a Law and Custom of Parliament that no King can Alien the Crown from the Right Heir, tho' by the Consent of Lords and Commons. *Coke* upon the *Parl. Roll.* 42. *Ed.* 3. *Num.* 7.

Religion and Loyalty, p. 12.

The Lords and Commons cannot assent in Parliament to any thing that *tends* to the *disinherison* of the King and his Crown, to which they are *Sworn.*

Jenkins *Rediv.* p. 8.

Ob. *The Descent of the Crown is guided rather by a Parliament than by Common Law.*

Id. p. 58.

Sol. If this Objection be true, That the Title to the Crown is by Parliament, then we have had no *Usurpers*, for they all had Parliaments to back them.

Edward the Fourth Lawful King of *England* declares.

Which Acts done by *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Sixth, pretended Kings, or by others during their Reigns, shall continue good, and which not.

1. *Edv.* 4. *Cap.* 1. *Par.* 1.

First, in eschewing of Ambiguities, Doubts and Diversities of Opinions, which may arise ensue, and be taken of and upon Judicial Acts, and Exemplifications of the same made, or had in the time or times of *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Fifth his Son and *Henry* the Sixth his Son, or any of them late Kings of *England*, successively in *Deed* and not of *Right*; Our said Lord the King, by the Advice and assent of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the request of his said Commons in the said Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, hath declared, establish'd

and

and enacted, in the ſaid Parliament that all fines and final Concords, Levy'd or made of any Lands, Tenements, Poſſeſſions, Rents, Inheritances, or other things, and all judicial Acts, Recoveries, and Proceſſes, determin'd or commenced, not revoked, revers'd, nor adnull'd, made or had in any Court or Courts of Record, or any other Court of Courts in any of the times of the *pretenſed Reigns of any of the* ſaid late Kings, in *Deed, and not in Right*, (*other than by Autority of any Parliament holden in any of their times*) and Exemplifications of the ſaid Fines, Acts Judicial, and Recoveries out of any of the ſaid Parliaments, *and every of them, ſhall be of like force, vertue and effect, as if* the ſaid Fines, Final *Concords, Acts, Recoveries, Proceſſes and other* the Premiſſes, had or made out of the ſaid Parliaments, *and Exemplifications* of the *ſame*, were Commenc'd, Sued, Had or *Determin'd, in the time* of any *King Lawfully Reigning in this Realm, obtaining* the Crown of the ſame by *juſt Title.*

And alſo that all Letters Patents, *&c.*

If any Perſon or Perſons at any Time, 3 *Jac. cap.* 4. §. 22. within the Dominions of the King's *Majeſty*, his *Heirs* or *Succeſſors*, put in practice to *Abſolve, Perſuade*, or *Withdraw* any other Subjects of the King's Majeſty, or of his *Heirs or SUCCESSORS of this Realm of* England, from their *Natural* Obedience to his *Majeſty*, his *Heirs* or *Succeſſors*, or to Reconcile them to the *Pope* or See of *Rome*, or to move them or any of them, to promiſe Obedience to any PRETENDED Authority of the See of *Rome*, or to ANY OTHER Prince, State or Potentate, that every ſuch Perſon, their Procurers, Counſellors, Aiders and Maintainers, knowing the ſame, ſhall be to all intents adjudged *Traytors*, and being thereof Lawfully Convicted, ſhall have Judgment, Suffer, and Forfeit as in Caſes of High Treaſon.

And if any ſuch Perſon, as aforeſaid— *Id.* §. 23. within the Dominions of the King's *Majeſty*, his *Heirs* or *Succeſſors*, ſhall be willingly Abſolv'd or Withdrawn, as aforeſaid, or willingly Reconcil'd, or ſhall promiſe Obedience to any ſuch PRETEND-

ED Authority, Prince, State, or Potentate, as aforesaid; that every such Person and Persons, their Procurers and Councellors, Aiders and Maintainers, knowing the same, shall be to all intents adjudged *Traytors*, and being thereof Lawfully Convict, shall have Judgment, Suffer and Forfeit, as in Cases of *High Treason*.

Relig and Loyalty, p. 37. Ob. *Some Men have no mind to understand how the Adhering to the* SUCCESSION *in our Circumstance can consist with* our *Affection* to the *Protestant Religion.*

Answ. If the Protestant Religion were an Enemy to Princes *Rights*, there were some colour for this Objection: 'But no *Religion* in the *World Teacheth and* 'Practiseth more Loyalty, than that which is *Truely* 'call'd *Protestant.*

Staino's *Serm.* *We shall* —— *fix it as a certain Rule by which every Conscientious Subject may and ought to guide his* Practice; That so long as there is any Person of the Royal Race, to whom by the course of Succession, according to the tenour of the Law of the Land, the Crown does belong; so long we have a Lawful Supremacy, and so long we shall be bound in Conscience to be in Subjection.

Faith and Practice of Ch. E. Man, p. 53. Of all kinds of Government I like *Monarchy, which seems* naturally to derive it *self from Paternal Authority,* —— *And if there be any Right on Earth* surely *Monarchy hath Right with us; and hath at least as good a Title to all its* POWERS, RIGHTS, *and* PRIVILEGES, *as any of its Subjects can* have to their *Honours, Properties, and* ESTATES. *The* MONARCHY *of* ENGLAND *being always esteemed as truly an* HEREDITARY *and* SUCCESSIVE *Monarchy as any in the World, not liable to be Dispos'd, Alienated* or *Sold*, nor depending on any *Election, Choice*, or *Approbation* of the *People.*

Relig. and Loyalty, p. 13. It is clear that all those Princes who come in upon *ill Titles* (tho' confirm'd by Parliament) yet *they are call'd*

call'd by our Old Hiſtorians, by the *Name of Uſurpers*, *which ſeems to prove*, *that as to matter of Law* the *Right Heir* cannot be put by the *Succeſſion*.

Tyrannus cum Titulo, *is*, *or may be*, GOD's ANOINTED; *Tyrannus ſine Titulo*, is an USURPER, and is to be look'd on ſo, by all thoſe who were born *under*, *or had taken Oaths* of *Allegiance* to a *Dethron'd* Prince. Warwick's *Diſc. of Govern.* p. 35.

The two Houſes Swear that *they will bear true Faith and Allegiance to the Kings Majeſty and his HEIRS and Lawful SUCCESSORS*; *and how they can Abſolve themſelves* from this *Oath* is not eaſy to be underſtood, *no more than it is how they can juſtly call an elected Succeſſor*, *LAWFUL*, *when* there is in Being an *Undoubted*, *Lawful Heir*, &c. *Religion and Loyalty*, p.

An *Oath* impos'd by one that hath not a *juſt Authority*, is to be declin'd as much as we can; *if it be forcibly impos'd*, *it is to be taken with Reluctancy*, *upon this condition*, *that the words imply nothing UNLAWFUL*, or Prejudicial *to the Right of a Third Perſon*; *for if ſo*, we muſt refuſe the *Oath*, at the Peril of our Lives. Sanderſ. 4. *Prelect de Juram.*

Oath in Court Leet.

'YOU ſhall ſwear, that from this day forward you ſhall be True and Faithful to our Sovereign Lord King —— and his *Heirs*, and Truth and Faith ſhall bear of Life and Member, and terrene Honour, and you ſhall neither know, nor hear of any Ill or Damage intended unto Him that you ſhall not defend. Coke's 7. *Rep.* p. 6.

So help you Almighty God.

Oath of Supremacy.

'I *A. B.* Do utterly teſtify and declare in my Con-
'ſcience, that the King's Highneſs is the *only Su-*
'*pream Governour* of this Realm, and of all other
'his Highneſs Dominions and Countries, as well in all
'*Spiritual* or *Eccleſiaſtical* things or Cauſes, as *Tempo-*
'*ral.* And that no *Forreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate,*
'*State* or *Potentate hath*, or *ought* to have, any *Juriſ-*
'*diction, Power, Superiority, Preeminence*, or *Autho-*
'*rity*, Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual within this Realm.
'And therefore I do utterly *Renounce* and *Forſake* all
'*Forreign Juriſdictions, Powers, Superiorities* and *Au-*
'*thorities. And do promiſe*, That from henceforth
'I ſhall bear *Faith* and *True* Allegiance *to the King's*
'*Highneſs*, His HEIRS *and* LAWFULL SUC-
'CESSORS; and to my Power ſhall aſſiſt and de-
'fend all *Juriſdictions, Privileges, Preeminencies* and
'*Authorities* granted or belonging to the *King's High-*
'*neſs* his HEIRS and *SUCCESSORS*, or uni-
'ted and annex'd to the *Imperial Crown* of this Realm.
So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Oath of Allegiance.

'I *A. B.* Do Truly and Sincerely acknowledge,
'profeſs, teſtify and declare in my Conſcience
'before God and the World, That our Sovereign
'Lord King ——— is Lawful King of this Realm,
'and of all other His Majeſties Dominions and Coun-
'tries: And that the *Pope* neither of himſelf, nor by
'any Authority of the Church or See of *Rome*, or by
'any other means with any other, hath any Power
'or Authority to Depoſe the King, or diſpoſe of any
'of His Majeſties Kingdoms or Dominions, or to Au-
'thorize any Forreign Prince, to invade or annoy him
'or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Sub-
'jects of their Allegiance and Obedience to His
'Majeſty, or to give Licenſe or Leave to any
'of them to bear Arms, raiſe Tumults, or to offer
'any Violence or Hurt to His Majeſties Royal Per-
'ſon,

" ſon, State or Government, or to any of His Majeſties
" Subjects within His Majeſties Dominions. Alſo I
" do Swear from my Heart, that notwithſtanding any
" Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication,
" or Deprivation made or granted, or be made
" or granted, by the *Pope* or his Succeſſors, or by any
" Authority deriv'd, or pretended to be deriv'd from
" him or his See, againſt the ſaid King, His *Heirs* or
" *Succeſſors*, or any *Abſolution* of the ſaid Subjects from
" their Obedience. I will bear *Faith* and *true Allegi-*
" *ance* to His *Majeſty*, His *Heirs* and *Succeſſors*, and
" *HIM* and *THEM will defend to the UTTER-*
" *MOST of my POWER, againſt all* Conſpiracies
" and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made a-
" againſt *His*, or *Their* Perſons, *Their* Crown and
" Dignity, by Reaſon or Colour of any ſuch Sentence
" or Declaration, or OTHERWISE,
" and will do my beſt endeavour to diſ-
" cloſe and make known unto His *Ma-*
" *jeſty*, His *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* all Trea-
" ſons and Traitorous Conſpiracies,
" which I ſhall know or hear of, to be againſt *Him* or
" *any* of *Them*. And I do further Swear, That I do
" from my Heart abhor, deteſt and abjure as Impious
" and *Heretical*, this *Damnable* Doctrine and Poſition,
" *That Princes* which be Excommunicated or Depriv'd
" *by the Pope, may be Depos'd or Murther'd by their Sub-*
" *jects, or any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and*
" *in my* Conſcience am reſolv'd, *that neither the* Pope
" *nor any perſon whatſoever, hath Power* to Abſolve *me*
" *of this Oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge*
" *by good and full Authority* to be Lawfully miniſtred
" unto me, and do Renounce all *Pardons* and *Diſpenſa-*
" *tions* to the contrary. And all theſe things I do
" plainly and ſincerely Acknowledge and Swear, ac-
" cording to theſe expreſs Words by me ſpoken, and
" according to the plain and common Senſe and *Under-*
" *ſtanding of the ſame Words, without any Equivocation,*
" or *Mental Evaſion*, or *Secret Reſervation* whatſoever.
" And I do make this Recognition and Acknowleg-
" ment heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true
" Faith of a Chriſtian. *So help me God.*

See Trial Regicides, p. 16. *and* 323.

Homilies Divines, &c.

Homily of Swearing.

THere be three things requir'd in a Lawful Oath; *First*, That it be made for the maintenance of the *Truth*. *Secondly*, That it be made with *Judgment*, *Jer.* 4. 2. not rashly and unadvisedly. *Thirdly*, For the Zeal and Love of *Justice*——Now you shall understand, that as well they use the Name of God in vain, that by an Oath make unlawful Promises of good and honest things, and perform them not; as they which do promise evil and unlawful things, and do perform the same. The first prov'd from the Examples of *Joshua* and the *Gibeonites*, *Jos.* 9. and King *Zedekiah*, 2 *Kings*, 24. 20. and *Chap.* 25. The last prov'd from the Examples of *Herod*, *Matth.* 14. the malicious *Jews*, *Acts* 23. *Jeptha Judges* 11.—— Therefore whosoever maketh any *Promise*, *binding himself thereunto by an Oath*; *Let him foresee that the thing he promiseth be good and honest, and not against the Commandment of God*, and that it be in his *own Power to perform it justly*; *And such good Promises must all Men keep evermore assuredly*. But if a Man at any time shall either of Ignorance or of Malice, Promise and Swear to do any thing which is either against the Law of God, or not in his power to perform; let him take it for an unlawful and ungodly Oath.

Whosoever wilfully *forswear* themselves upon Christ's Holy Evangely [Gospel] they utterly forsake God's Mercy, Goodness, Truth, the Merits of our Saviour Christ's Nativity, Life, Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; They refuse the forgiveness of Sins, promis'd to all Penitent Sinners, the Joys of Heaven, the Company with Saints for ever—— And they so being forsworn upon the Gospel, do betake themselves to the Devil's Service, the Master of all *Lyes*, *Falsehood*, *Deceit* and *Perjury*.

The

'The Moderation of our Church 'doth not favour any Doctrines, or 'Practices, which are Prejudicial to 'the safety of Humane Society in gene-'ral——It doth no where pretend to 'remit the Divine Laws, or *Dispence* 'with *Oaths*, &c.——— Contrariwise it requires of 'all its Communion to give the King such security of 'their *Allegiance* and *Fealty*, as may be a sufficient Se-'curity of his Government.

D. Puller's *Moder. Ch.* Engl. *Cap.* 12. 5, 6, 7.

The *Popish* Faction——— by *Papal Dispensations*, taught Christians to play fast and loose with those dreadful tyes, [*Oaths*] which honest Heathens revered and trembl'd at; and to uphold their tottering Greatness, Decreed at last, That *Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks*; a Doctrine which they have most religiously observ'd, when it hath been safe as they thought, whether to their greater Infamy or Damage, I shall not now inquire.

Justice of Peace Calling. S. 9. p. 157.

The *Dissenters* at length embrac'd ( ) the same Opinion, and being to undertake a War against their King; were necessitated to *absolve themselves* from the *Oath* of *Allegiance* they had made to him, and afterwards the same Necessity brought them to take the *Covenant* which was contrary to that Oath, the *Engagement* which was contrary to both; and so on they went swearing Contradictions, and imposing them upon the People, till no body did any longer regard what they swore to, and they became so perfidious too, and distrustful to each other, that this *Perfidy* and *Perjury*, in which they had put their greatest *trust, by a just Judgment of God upon them*, ruin'd all their Designs, and brought their Affairs into such Confusion, that they were forc'd to submit to His Majesty, [*Ch.* II.] *and accept a Pardon from him whom* they had *Abjured* but a few Months before.

'They [the Dissenters] Minted new Doctrines, That it is better to Trust God (*i. e.* to try whether he will be as good as his Word, and punish them for false swearing) than Man. That it was a less Sin (if it were any) for a

Id. p. 158.

Man to forſwear himſelf, than to betrary a godly Brother to the wicked, or to inform againſt him to his Loſs.

Ibid. And as they taught they practiſed; they took all *Oaths, and kept none.*

Id. 159. ——*Not only the demure Hypocrite forſwears himſelf for the Glory of God, and the good of his Children; but the Atheiſt, when there is occaſion*, doth it by their Example, for his own ſweet ſake, and his Friends. But

Id. 160. That *Perjury* that did a Man a Kindneſs to Day, may ruin him to Morrow, and in probability will do ſo.

Id. 162. For my part, I do not fear that Perjurious Projects will ever prevail, or do any Body any good; but the Crime being ſpred ſo vaſtly, I fear a National Judgment, a Calamity that ſhall be as general as the Sin, and then no Man will be free from ſuffering the ſad effects of it, tho' thoſe that have procur'd it, will ſmart moſt by it; and this is enough to oblige every good Man that loves his Country (eſpecially all Magiſtrates) to ſtand in the gap, and to prevent the further growth of it, as much as is poſſible by diſcountenancing it, and puniſhing it too, as occaſion ſerves.

Craig's *Hiſt. Succeſs*, p. 141. *and* 208. 'Tis expreſly proved in the Twenty Sixth of *Hen.* VIIIth, that the Oath of Allegiance ſhould be taken by all the Subjects of this Kingdom——So that it is moſt certain, that all the People of *England* were, and are under the Obligations of bearing *Faith* and True *Allegiance* to their former Kings, and to their HEIRS. When I ſay the PEOPLE, I mean all the Eſtates *Eccleſiaſtical*, or Clergy, all the Barons, Citizens, and the WHOLE People. So that not one of them can clear himſelf of PERJURY, ſhould they admit any to be their King, beſides the true and UNDOUBTED HEIR and SUCCESSOR of all thoſe Kings [to whom from the Conqueſt the ſame or like Oath was always taken. *Pag.* 139.]

Peo-

People who are bound and had oblig'd themſelves to bear *Faith* and True *Allegiance* to their former King and His LAWFUL HEIRS by the OATH OF GOD, they cannot without horrid PERJURY conſent to the Election of another Prince, or one from another Family. No Account can be given, no *Colourable* pretext for violating the Oath which they had given, and which they were oblig'd in *Gratitude* to give, or for binding themſelves afterwards by *Perjury* to any other, upon any Proſpect of Advantage. *Id. p.* 30.

That Pretext will not ſerve their [that is the Peoples] turn, *That it was their Fathers*, and not they themſelves who ſwore thoſe Oaths; for *Heirs* are bound by the Oaths of their Deceas'd as well as thoſe who took them, and by their repreſenting their perſons, become guilty of PERJURY, if they break the Oath, ſeeing they, —— in Conſtruction of Law, ſuſtain one Perſon with the Deceas'd, *Una perſona cum Defunctis ſungantur*, and repreſent the deceas'd Perſon. Neither is the Nature of the Obligation chang'd by the Perſon of the *Heir*, who comes in the place of the Deceas'd, *&c.* *Id. p.* 141.

But they urge further, tho' it be granted, ſay they, that they are bound by the firſt *Oath*, yet by an after Deed they come to ſwear, *That they ſhall receive and own for their Lord, whomſoever the Queen* [Elizabeth] *ſhall nominate and appoint, and that the laſt Oath is more binding than the firſt*, becauſe poſteriour Deeds commonly derogate from former ones. To this I anſwer, That this ſecond Oath is liable to two juſt Exceptions, or ſtain'd with two groſs Faults, one is, that ſuch an Oath is to the Prejudice and manifeſt Wrong of a Third Perſon, and ſo it cannot oblige any Perſon, either by the Law of *God* or *Man*. The other is, That the ſecond Oath is not of that force as to diſable or take off the Obligation of the firſt. For when two Oaths are taken, one of which derogates from the other, the firſt is to be kept according to the Unanimous Judgment of the Lawyers and the Laws. Nay that ſecond Oath, according to the Determination of

all

all Lawyers, if any Man Swears it, and if it be found contrary to his former Oath, is not valid, becauſe otherwiſe by ſuch a practice, it would be eaſy to elude the Obligation of all Oaths, by ſwearing ſomething afterwards, that's contrary to their former Oath.

Id. p. 142. The Inference from what has been ſaid in ſhort is this, Let them [the People of *England*] do what they can, turn to what Hand they will, and endeavour to ſkreen themſelves, if it were poſſible, from the Eyes of God; whether, I ſay, the moſt Famous Queen [*Elizabeth*] or the People of *England*, it is ſtill utterly impoſſible, that either the Queen can appoint any but the TRUE Heir for her SUCCESSOR, or that the *People* of *England*, that is, the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* and the *Commons* can never acknowledge another beſides the TRUE HEIR without violating their Oaths.

Id. p. 228. The King who firſt Inſtituted the Kingdom, joyn'd the Common wealth to himſelf as well for his *Heirs*, as for himſelf, and he was ſolemnly inveſted with it both for himſelf and for his HEIRS, and with himſelf all his *Heirs* were inveſted. He took moreover an *Oath* of *Fidelity* of the People, for himſelf and for his HEIRS for ever, the Obligation of which can never be cancell'd, or diſſolv'd without the will and conſent of the Receiver. So that there is not an *Engliſh* Subject who does not make himſelf liable, to the Guilt and Puniſhments of Manifeſt PERJURY, in caſe he admits or owns any beſides the TRUE SUCCESSOR for his *Sovereign Lord*. Seeing this Contract is not at this time new and voluntary, but the Execution of it, neceſſarily depends on the Force and Obligation of the firſt Contract.

Id. p. 209. The Succeſſor is veſted with the Kingdom from the Death of his Predeceſſor; ſo that the Death of the one becomes the Inveſtiture of the other, and the *Coronation* is no more but a publick Declaration of his *Right*.

Coronation

Coronation as it cannot make a Tyrant or Uſurper a *Rightful* King, ſo the not being crown'd cannot prejudice a *Lawful* King, ſo as that the Right and Prerogatives Royal, do not as much belong to him before, as they do after the Coronation is perform'd. *Id. p.* 210.

Subjects at the Princes Coronation take the *Oath* of *Allegiance* and *Fidelity*, to HIM and to his HEIRS; for all his *Heirs* are reckon'd to be Crown'd, in and with him, by that Oath; neither can they who have ſworn, be abſolv'd from the Obligation of it before God, by any *Diſpenſation* of the *Jeſuits*, nor of the *Pope* himſelf. *Id. p.* 228, *and p.* 228, 9.

If the excluded Succeſſor hath a Son, before or after Succeſſion doth fall, free from any (ſuch) defect, the right of the Kingdom deſcendeth unto him. Becauſe the inability of Parents doth not prejudice the Children, eſpecially in regard of their *Natural Rights*. Neither is it any impediment, wherefore they ſhould not enjoy either Privilege or Dignity from the Perſon of their Grand-father. It is fitter the Son ſhould receive profit by the Dignity of the Grand-father, than prejudice by his Fathers Chance. Hayward's *anſ. to* Doleman c. 1. p. 5.

If Coronation were ſufficient to make a Title, no King ſhould be counted to Uſurp. *Id. p.* 138.

All affirm, that in thoſe Offices which are mutual between any Perſon, by the Law of *Nature* or of *God*; as between the Father and the Child, the Husband and the Wife, the Maſter and Servant, the Prince and the Subject, altho' the ſame be further aſſur'd by Promiſe, or by Oath, the breach of Duty in the one, is no diſcharge unto the other. *Id. p.* 85.

——It is enough that in our Religion there is no Rule to be found, that preſcribes Rebellion, nor any thing that diſpenſes Subjects from their Oath of their *Allegiance*, nor any of our *King* James's *def. of the Rights of Kings.*

Churches

Churches that receive that abominable Doctrine.

Hellier's *Serm. on* Pſ. 15. 4. p. 29.

Tho' there have been ſome (who are ſo well known that I need not Name them) that have held it Lawful for the *ſake of Religion to break an Oath*; *that is to ſay, to uphold* RELIGION *by taking away the main ſupport, and by hindring the whole benefit of it*; *to Diſhonour God, to rob him of his* Attributes, *to profane his Holy Name, to break his Commandments, to renounce* Salvation; and all this for the ſake of *Religion*.

But whatever others may ſay in ſome Circumſtances, is Lawful to be done for *Their Religion*; '*I hope* '*none of us* [*of the Church of England*] *do ſuppoſe ſuch* '*a practice allowable for the ſake of our own, which is in a very bad caſe, if that be the beſt expedient we can find to ſupport it, we muſt not do evil*, Rom. 3. 8. *and if not* ANY, *then certainly not ſo* GREAT *an Evil, that good may come. God ſtands not in the need* of our *good*, much leſs of our *evil* Actions. *Truth*, as it does not need, ſo neither will it admit the Aſſiſtance of *Falſehood* to keep it up. If we did, it would acquire only a Reproach and Diſeſteem to it ſelf; for Men do diſparage any Cauſe, which by ſuch Methods they endeavour to maintain. And 'tis utterly impoſſible that ever the True Religion ſhould allow of ſuch Practices, as overturn the *Foundations of all Religion*.

Dr. Tillotſon's *Sermon on* Luc. 9. 55. p. 19.

When Religion once comes to ſupplant Moral Righteouſneſs, and to teach Men the abſurdeſt things in the World, to Lye for the Truth, and to kill Men for God's ſake —— *then ſurely it loſes its Nature*, and ceaſes *to be Religion*. Let any Man ſay worſe of *Atheiſm* and *Infidelity* if he can.

Dr. Tillotſon's *Serm. on* 1 Cor. 3. 15. p. 16.

The *Romiſh Doctrine* of *Depoſing Kings*, in caſe of *Hereſy*, and *Abſolving* their *Subjects* from their *Allegiance* to them, is not a meer *Speculative Doctrine*, but hath been put in practice many a time by the Biſhops of *Rome*, as every one knows that is vers'd in Hiſtory ——

I hope no body expects that I ſhould take the Pains to ſhew that this was *not* the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, nor of the Primitive Chriſtians. The *Papiſts* are many of them ſo far from pretending this, that in ſome time and places, when it is not ſeaſonable and for their purpoſe, we have much ado *to perſuade them that ever it was their Doctrine. But if Tranſubſtantiation be their Doctrine, THIS IS; for they came both out of the ſame Forge, I mean the* Council of *Lateran*, under Pope *Innocent the Third. And if (as they tell us) Tranſmigration* was then eſtabliſh'd, ſo was *this*; and indeed one would think they were Twins, and brought forth at the ſame time, *they are ſo like one another*, that is, *both* of them ſo monſtrouſly unreaſonable.

That which is *ſimply evil*, may not for *any good* be done. We know not any greater good (for there is not any greater good) than *the Glory of God*; we ſcarce know a leſſer Sin (if any ſin may be accounted little) than a harmleſs *Officious* Lye, yet may not this be done; no not for that, *Will you ſpeak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* Job 13. 7. If not for the Glory of God; then certainly not for any other inferiour end; not for the ſaving of a *Life*, not for the Converſion of a *Soul*, not for the Peace of a *Church*, and (if even that were poſſible too) not for the redemption of the *World*. No intention of any *End* can warrant the Choice of *Sinful* means to compaſs it.

Dr. Sanderſon's *Sermon on* Rom. 3. 8. *p.* 30.

It is quite contrary to the meek Spirit of Orthodox Chriſtians to embue their hands in Blood upon the Account of *Religion*, or to ſeek to revenge themſelves.

Reform Ch. of Eng. *juſtified*, p. 21.

'We (of the Church of *England*) do firmly believe, that both they (the Papiſts) and we and all Subjects are moſt ſtrictly and abſolutely bound to an exact and entire *performance* of all thoſe *promiſes* which we make to *Magiſtrates* and *Civil Powers*; and that there is no *Power* on Earth either *Foreign* or *Domeſtick* that can *diſpenſe*

Altham's *Anſ. to ſome Queries to Proteſt.* p. 34.

'with

'with our *Oaths* and *Promiſes*, or *Abſolve* us from our 'Duty and *Allegiance*.

Reform Ch. of England *juſtifi'd* p. 21.

It is a known Doctrine in the *Canon* Law and *Roman* Schools, and a frequent Practice of *Roman Catholicks* to *Depoſe Princes* and *Abſolve* their *Subjects* from their *Allegiancce*, and endeavour to exterminate thoſe they call *Hereticks*, under which Pretence many Princes have been deſtroy'd, and many *Rebellions* and *Tumults* have been fomented, much innocent Blood has been ſpilt, and Chriſtendom has been a miſerable Theatre of War and Confuſion.

Humble Advice of the Aſſembly of Div. concerning a Confeſſion of Faith. Chap. 23. p. 42.

It is the Duty of People to pray for Magiſtrates, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. to honour their perſons, 1 *Pet.* 2. 17. to pay them Tribute and other Dues, *Rom.* 13. 6. 7. to obey their Commands, and to be Subject to their Authority for Conſcience ſake, *Rom.* 13. 5. *Tit.* 1. 3. INFIDELITY OR DIFFERENCE IN RELIGION DOTH NOT MAKE VOID THE MAGISTRATES JUST AND LEGAL AUTHORITY, NOR FREE THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR DUE OBEDIENCE TO HIM, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14, 16. from which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are not exempted, *Rom.* 13. 1. 1 *Kings* 2. 35. *Acts* 25. 9, 10, 11. 2 *Pet.* 2. 1, 10, 11. *Jude. ver.* 8, 9, 10, 11. Much leſs hath the Pope any Power or Juriſdiction over them, in their Dominions, or over any of their People; and leaſt of all, to *Deprive* them of their Dominions or Lives, if he ſhall judge them to be *Hereticks*, or upon *any other pretence whatſoever*, 2 Theſ. 2. 4. Rev. 13. 15, 16, 17.

Herod and Pon. Pilate reconcil'd. p. 34.

Vincentius in his *Speculo Hiſtoriali* hath a notable place to diſſawde from *Perjury* and *Sedition*. *Ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim hæc ſola Novitas (ne dicam Hæreſis) necdum e mundo emerſerat.* That I may ſpeak with the favour of all good Men, this meer Novelty (if not Hereſy) was not

ſprung

ſprung up in the World, that Prieſts ſhould teach Subjects, that they owe no ſubjection to *Wicked Kings*, and albeit they have given an *Oath* of *Fidelity* unto them, they are not bound to keep it; nay, they that obey an *Evil Prince*, are to be held as Excommunicate, and all ſuch as Rebel againſt him, are free from the Crime of *Perjury*.

If a People, that by *Oath* and Duty are oblig'd to a Sovereign, ſhould ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and contrary to their Covenants chuſe and Covenant with another, they may be obliged by their latter Covenants, notwithſtanding their former. This Propoſition is cenſur'd in the *Oxford* Decree, 1683. and condemn'd as *falſe*, *ſeditious*, *impious*, and *Deſtructive* of all *Government*. *Oxford Decree prop.* 15. *vid. App.*

An *Oath* obligeth not in the ſenſe of the *Impoſer*, but the *Takers*; this Propoſition is condemn'd in the *Oxford* Decree 1683. As *falſe*, *ſeditious*, *impious* and *Deſtructive* of all *Government*. *Prop.* 17.

1. No Man may ſwear, or induce another Man to *ſwear unlawfully*.

2. It is no *Lawful Oath* that is not attended with *Truth*, *Juſtice* and *Judgment* Jer. 4. 2. the *firſt* whereof requires; That the Thing ſworn be *True*. The *ſecond*, That it be *Juſt*. The *third*, That it be not *Undue* and *Unmeet* to be ſworn and undertaken. *Bp.* Hall's *Irrefragable Propoſitions.*

3. A *Promiſſory* Oath, which is to the certain *prejudice* of another Man's *Right*, cannot be attended with *Juſtice*.

4. No *Prejudice* of another Man's *Right*, cannot be ſo dangerous and ſinful, as that Prejudice which is done to the Right of PUBLICK and SOVEREIGN Authority.

5. A Man is bound in Conſcience to reverſe and diſclaim that which he was induc'd *unlawfully* to ingage himſelf by *Oath* to perform.

6. No

6. No *Oath* is or can be of *force*, that is made against a *Lawful* Oath, *formerly taken*, ſo as he that hath ſworn *Allegiance* to his *Sovereign*, and thereby bound himſelf to maintain the Right, Power and Authority of his ſaid Sovereign, cannot by any *ſecond Oath*, be ty'd to do ought that may tend to the Infringment thereof; and if he have ſo ty'd himſelf, the Obligation is *ipſo facto* void and fruſtrate.

Whole Duty of Man part 4.

The uſe of *Oaths* being to aſſure the Perſons to whom they are made, they muſt be taken in *their* ſenſe. But if I were never ſo *ſincere* at the *taking of the Oath*, *if afterwards I do not perform it*, I am certainly *Perjur'd*.

——The Nature of an *Oath* being then thus binding, it neerly concerns us to look that the *matter* of our *Oaths* be Lawful, for elſe we run our ſelves into a woful Snare. If I ſwear to give a Man my whole *Eſtate*, and afterwards ſwear to give all or *part* of that *Eſtate* to another, it is certain I muſt break my *Oath* to one of them, becauſe it is impoſſible to perform it to both, and ſo I muſt be under a *neceſſity* of being *forſworn*. And into this unhappy ſtraight every Man brings himſelf that takes any *Oath* which *croſſes* ſome other which he hath *formerly* taken, which ſhould make all that love either *God* or their own *Souls*, reſolve never thus miſerably to entangle themſelves by taking one *Oath* croſs and thwarting to another.

Queſt. But it may perhaps here be ask'd, What a perſon that hath already brought himſelf into ſuch a Condition ſhall do?

Anſw. I anſwer, he muſt firſt heartily *repent* the great ſin of *taking the unlawful Oath*, and then ſtick only to the *Lawful*, which is all that is in his Power towards the repairing his fault, and qualifying him for God's Pardon for it.

——If any doubt the hainouſneſs of this Sin, let him but conſider what God himſelf ſays of it in the *Third Commandment*, where he ſolemnly profeſſeth,

He

He will not hold him guiltleſs that takes his name in vain; and ſure the adding that to this *Commandment*, and none of the reſt, is the *marking* this out for a moſt *heinous* Guilt. And if you look into *Zac.* 5. you will there find the Puniſhment is anſwerable, even to the *utter deſtruction*, not only of the *Man*, but his Houſe alſo. Therefore it concerns all Men, as they *love* either their *Temporal* or *Eternal* welfare, to keep them moſt ſtrictly from this Sin. *See Append.*

One would imagine, nothing could tempt a rational Man to ſuch an Act; [of breaking an Oath] if the too frequent and ſad experience of *oppoſite*, yea of *Contradictory* Oaths (in this impious Age of ours) did not convince us, that nothing is too monſtrous or unreaſonable for an *Ill Man* to do. If *Popiſh Zealots*, by Aſſurances of Diſpenſation, were the only Perſons, who aſſum'd the Impudence to commit this Crime, it would not be ſo very ſtrange; but for Us [of the Church of *England*] who ſay, *No Power on Earth can cancel this ſacred Bond of an Oath*, for *Us* to *Perjure* ourſelves, is at once our Shame, and the World's Wonder; Doubtleſs ſuch Men deſerve not only the bare Puniſhments of the Law, but to ſuffer an Univerſal Deteſtation, that as they are the *Bane* of our Government, the ſcandal of our Religion, and the *Enemies* of God, ſo they may be eſteem'd and treated as the *Foes* of all Mankind, until by *Sorrow* and *Repentance* they ſhall own their Faults, and return to a *better Mind*.

Comber's *Serm. on* Heb. 6. 16. *p.* 39.

An *Oath* is a Man's laſt Security for his Truth, and if he once falſify this, none can ever truſt him after, no Bond can hold him; which our Noble King *Henry* the firſt well knew, when he generouſly refus'd the Popes baſe offer to *Abſolve* him from his *Oath*, ſaying, *who* will ever truſt another hereafter, when they ſee by my Example, an Abſolution can make void the HIGHEST BOND of FAITH.

Id. p. 27.

Sure theſe Men [the *Phariſees*] had a moſt notable Wit, which could invent ſuch cunning Diſtinctions as ſhould allow them

Bp. Patrick's *Jewiſh Hyp.* p. 362.

them to break all God's Commandments, while they seem'd to keep them. And so they had, as our Saviour tell *Matth.* 23. 16, 17. where you may see they did *Absolve* Men from their *Oaths*, that were made by the Holy things (*viz.* the Temple and the Altar) if they were not made by that which they most lov'd, the Gold and the Gift.

Id. P. 364. ——And you may not think the *Fleshly* Christian is at a Loss for the like Distinctions; Interpretations and Glosses to serve the *Dear Interest* of his Sins —— If a Man have *use* for a Sin, as *suppose* the Breaking of an *Oath*, he can distinguish between the *Letter* and the *Spirit* of it. He can easily persuade himself that he keeps the prime meaning (which is according as he pleaseth to have it) tho' he go contrary to the *Sound* of the Words, and the sense in which Men commonly understand it.

Dr. Cave's *exhort. and Adv.* p. 19. 'Tis commonly blam'd in those of the *Romish* Church, that they can *dispense* with *Oaths*; and receive Sacraments to serve a turn, and to advance the Interest of their Cause; 'God forbid that so 'heavy a Charge should ever lye at the Doors of 'Protestants.

Case of Symbolizing, p. 7. Her [Church of *Rome*] darling Son [Jesuits] Doctrine of *Equivocation*, and *Mental Reservations*; of the Popes Power of *Dispensing* with the most solemn *Oaths*, and of *Absolving* Subjects from their Allegiance to their *Lawful* Princes —— 'The 'Church of *England* abominates these and the like 'Principles and Practices.

Dr. Lucas's *Sermon* 15. p. 10. 'We [of the Church of *England*] 'teach those things that become *Sound* 'Doctrine, *giving unto Cæsar the things* 'that are Cæsar's, *and unto God the things* 'that are God's. We admit of nothing 'but Truth and Justice, Obedience and Charity, and 'will not allow of *Equivocation* or *Perjury*; or in a 'Word, *the doing Evil, that Good may come thereof.*

As to the *Immoral* Principles and Practices of the *Romiſh* Church, which are all as contrary to *Natural* as *Reveal'd* Religion, the greateſt Enemies our Church hath, cannot ſurely have the forehead to charge her with giving the leaſt Countenance to any ſuch. There being no Church in Chriſtendom that more ſeverely condemns all Inſtances of *Unrighteouſneſs* and *Immorality*. *Case of Symbolizing*, p. 10.

They who are guilty of the ſingle Act of a very heinous and notorious Crime; as a deliberate Act of *Blaſphemy*, of *Murther*, *Perjury*, &c. may be ſaid *not to do righteouſneſs*. Dr. Tillotſon's *Sermon on* 1 Joh. 3. 10. p. 121.

When a Man *promiſeth* upon *Oath* what he does not intend to *perform*; the very *Act* of ſwearing is *Perjury*. And ſo likewiſe when a Man promiſeth upon *Oath* to do that which is *unlawful* for him to do; becauſe this *Oath* is *contrary* to a *former* Obligation. *Id. Sermon on* Heb. 6. 16. p. 128.

All departure from the *Simplicity* of an *Oath*, is a *Degree* of *Perjury*; and a Man never a whit the leſs forſworn, becauſe his *Perjury* is a little finer and more artificial than ordinary. *Id.* p. 30.

They do increaſe the guilt by adding to their Iniquity the Impudent Folly of mocking God and deceiving themſelves.

It is a very ſad ſign of the Decay of Chriſtian Religion among us, to ſee ſo many who call themſelves Chriſtians make ſo little Conſcience of ſo great a Sin, as even the Light of *Nature* would bluſh and tremble at. *Id.* p. 30.

Nothing ought to be receiv'd as a Revelation from God which plainly contradicts the Principles of *Natural Religion*, or overthrows the certainty of them. For inſtance, it were in vain to pretend a Revelation from God, *That there is no God*, becauſe this is a Contradiction in Terms. The like may be ſaid concerning any pretended Revelation from God, which evidently contradicts thoſe *Natural* *Id. Sermon on* 1 Joh. 4. 1. p. 9.

Notions, which Men have of *Good* and *Evil*; *That God ſhould Command or allow Sedition and Rebellion, Perfidiouſneſs* AND PERJURY; becauſe the Practice of theſe would be apparently deſtructive of the Peace and Happineſs of Mankind, and would naturally bring Confuſion into the World; *But God is not the God of Confuſion, but of Order*, which St. *Paul* appeals to as a Principle naturally known ——. I will refer it to no Man's Judgment whether *Murther* and PERJURY be Sins? —— There is no need of a Judge in theſe Caſes.

Id. Serman on Prov. 14. 34. p. 141.

The proper way of anſwering any thing that is confidently aſſerted, [as that Virtue and Vice are Arbitrary things] is to ſhew the contrary, namely, that there are ſome things that have a *Natural Evil* and *Deformity* in them, as PERJURY, *Perfidiouſneſs*, *Unrighteouſneſs* and *Ingratitude*, which are things not only condemn'd by the *Poſitive* Laws and Conſtitutions of *Particular* Nations and Governments, but by the *general Verdict* of *Humane Nature*. And that the Virtues contrary to thoſe have a *Natural Goodneſs* and Comlineſs in them, and are ſuitable to the *Common Principles* and Sentiments of *Humanity*.

Allen's *Serm. of Perjury* p. 4.

They that promiſe upon *Oath*, what they intend not to perform; or are unreſolv'd and indifferent, whether they ſhall perform it or not; thoſe are *ipſo facto*, Guilty of *Perjury*.

Id. p. 5.

They alſo are guilty of *Perjury*, that having promis'd upon *Oath* Sincerely, and with an Honeſt Intention, do yet afterwards *fall off* and *renounce* the Obligation, do not faithfully and reſolvedly endeavour and take care to fulfil their Word, do Act contrary to their *Oath*, when a juſt Occaſion requires and calls for the performance of their Promiſe and *Sworn* Duty.

Id. p. 6.

—— There can be no diſpute —— as to the breach of thoſe *Promiſſory Oaths*, that are taken to re-inforce a known, and Antecedent Duty; or thoſe whoſe Obligations does take place

place and lay hold upon our *Conſciences*, *at* and *from* the very *Moment* of Swearing. For they that do not continue in that Honeſt and Faithful Intention, in which they *took* their *Oaths*; they have no mind to be oblig'd any longer by them, are contriving how to break them to the beſt Advantage, are ſeeking *Excuſes* and *Evaſion*, to palliate their *Perfidiouſneſs*. Theſe Men are guilty of *Perjury*; nay, (tho' for want of Opportunity and Power) they proceed no further; becauſe having *bound their Souls with a Bond*, having ſworn by *the help of God*, *Num.* 30. 2. and by the *Contents* of the *Goſpel*, to perform their *Promiſes*, having call'd in God to be a *Surety* for them, and (as it were) bound with them; they do yet as much as in them lies, as far as they dare for fear of the Laws, and Civil Puniſhments, without any reſpect, or regard to Conſcience, and the fear of God, diſengage themſelves from the Obligation of their *Oaths*.

They are involv'd in the Guilt of *Perjury*, who *againſt*, or *without* the *Conſent* of the *Superiour Power*, do frame and impoſe upon Others, or take themſelves NEW Oaths, contrary *to*, and deſtructive *of* their FORMER Obligations——I muſt tell you, that an *Oath* can re-inforce a FORMER, or induce a NEW Obligation, where there was none before; but *cannot* deſtroy an *Antecedent* one; or *Superinduce* another *Repugnant* to it; and one main reaſon hereof is this, becauſe by every ſuch Obligation a *Right* does accrue to *Another*, to Him to whom the Promiſe is made; and we become thereby indebted to Him, and bound in *Conſcience*; and He hath a Right and Lawful Power to challenge, and demand of us, as a Duty, the juſt performance of it; and therefore it is moſt unreaſonable and unequal, moſt injurious and unjuſt, that *His Right* ſhould be infring'd by any *Act* of Ours, without his *Leave* and *Releaſe* firſt obtain'd. *Id.* p. 6.

I muſt further tell you, that we are bound in *Conſcience* to be Subject to *All* our *Superiours*, according to the Nature, Quality and Extent of their Dominion over us; and conſequently to the *Supream* or *Sovereign*

in *All things*, not countermanded by His only *Superiour* the *King* of *Heaven*; which Duty and Obligation of Ours, a *Subsequent Oath* taken *against* or *without* his *Consent*, can by no means *Disannul* and *Cancel*. All which is prov'd from *Num.* 30. at the beginning of the Chapter, where the Rule is thus given. If a Daughter ſtill remaining in *her Fathers Houſe*; or if a Wife do *Vow* a *Vow* unto the Lord; if the *Father* or *Husband* reſpectively do *hear* of it, and *hold his Peace* and expreſs no diſlike of it, the Vow *ſhall ſtand*; but if the *Father* or *Husband* do upon notice thereof *diſallow* it, then the Vow of either of them ſhall not ſtand, ſhall be of *none effect*; God will forgive and excuſe them, but the Obligation ſhall not take place. And if this be ſo, then certainly by parity of reaſon, we may conclude, that no *Subject* hath a Right or Power to oblige himſelf by *Oath*, to the *Prejudice*, and againſt the *Conſent* of the *Sovereign*. And if any Man hath been drawn in and entangled in ſuch ſnares, he *muſt* forthwith diſengage himſelf, and come off begging *God*'s and the *King*'s Pardon, for his Folly and Raſhneſs: He muſt remember that he is *Pre-engag'd*. He may, and *ought* to *renounce* the *Treacherous Oath*, as being *Illegal*, and unable to lay hold on his Conſcience.

But this is not all; if the *Matter* of theſe *Oaths* be unlawful, if againſt our plain Duty, and our *Former Oaths* and Obligations; then do they certainly involve us in *Perjury*, and cannot be juſtify'd, neither by the *Goodneſs* of the *Intention*, nor the *Greatneſs* of ſome Mens *Fears*, nor the *Piety* of their *Pretences*, nor their *Zeal* for *Religion* and the *Publick Good*, &c. *Id.* p. 8.

They are Guilty of *Perjury*, who make uſe of *Tricks* and *Cheats*, and *Subtle Artifices* to *evade* and *elude* the Obligation of their *Oaths*; who will not underſtand the Words of an *Oath*, in their *Aſſertions* or *Promiſes*, according to the *plain*, *genuine*, and *common* acception of them, but by faſtning a *Secret* Senſe of their own, upon ſome ambiguous Terms, or by ſome *Reſerves*, or *Exceptions*, or *Additions* within their Minds, do quite alter the meaning of the Words, and thereby intend neither

neither to be oblig'd to ſpeak *Truth*, nor perform their *Promiſes*.

The *Romiſh* Caſuiſts are notoriouſly faulty in this point ——— But perhaps they are not the only *Equivocators* in the World; they don't engroſs the whole Trade to themſelves. There are ſome *True Proteſtants* towardly enough to imitate the ſubtleties of the *Jeſuites*, who when they find they are *crampt* and *fetter'd* by an *Oath*, that doth *Pinch* and *Fret* them, have recourſe to *Jeſuitical* Diſtinctions, to their *Shifts*, *Reſerves* and *Evaſions*; they ſwear firſt, and then *after Vows* they make *Enquiry*; they will find or make ſome creeping Hole to eſcape at; they will *skrew*, and *wreſt*, and *wind*, and *turn*, and *torture* the Words, till they have made them pliant and yeilding to their Senſe, and conſiſtent with their *deſigns*. They take no care to perform, what they have ſworn, but only to forſwear themſelves *Ingeniouſly* and according to *Art*.

But none of theſe Tricks will exempt either ſort of them [*i. e.* Papiſt or Proteſtant] and that, becauſe an *Oath* ought to be taken, and kept too, in the moſt *Plain*, *Free*, *Openhearted* and *Ingenuous* way that can be, with all *Simplicity* and *Sincerity* of mind; and in *that* Senſe of the Words, that they *uſually* bear, and are *commonly* taken in; and particularly in *that* Senſe, that the *Parties* to whom we Swear, they for whoſe *Satisfaction* or *Information* we give our *Promiſe* or *Teſtimony*, do, or muſt be ſuppos'd to underſtand 'em in. *Id.* p. 9.

Is it poſſible for thoſe Men [True Proteſtants for all their Pretences, and Noiſe, to be heartily Zealous againſt *Popery* and *Idolatry*, who make no ſcruple of *Perjury*? It is not, if St. *Auſtin* tell us true; *That without all doubt, it is a leſs Sin to Swear truly by a falſe God, than to Swear falſly by the True one. And ſo makes Perjury a more* heinous Crime, than *Idolatry* it ſelf. *Id.* p. 12.

As to *Government*, and the Conſequents of it, *Peace* and *Order*, and juſt *Liberty*. There is nothing but *Perjury* *Id.* p. 14.

can deſtroy *it*, and deprive us of *them* : Nothing but *Perjury* can *carry* on *Faction* and begin a *Rebellion*: Nothing but the higheſt *Profanation* of *God's Name* can ruin the *Monarchy*. All that are intruſted in any Office or Employment, either *Civil Military*, or *Sacred*, have given the beſt Aſſurance to the Prince, that a *Promiſe* can make, and an *Oath* can bind; that *they will bear Faith and True Allegiance to his Majeſty his HEIRS and SUCCESSORS, and HIM and THEM will defend to the uttermoſt*, &c. But if theſe *Sacred Bonds* muſt be broken in ſunder upon every *Sham*, and hold us no longer than *ſome Men* pleaſe; then certainly do we incur the guilt of a moſt heinous and greivous Sin, or rather amaſs and heap up horrid Crimes; we do not only violate the *Laws* of *God* and *Man*, but alſo become moſt *Treacherous* and *Ungrateful* to the Prince that *Relies* and *Depends* upon our *Fidelity*.

The uſual *Form* [of Swearing] among us, that (as it were) binds the *Oath and makes the Sanction, is This: So help Me God*; *in direct Invocation, or So help you God, in Adjuration. Which contains and implies a moſt dreadful Imprecation, and horrible Curſe upon our own Souls, if we Swear falſly*; for we then call upon God, to withdraw his *Help*, his *Grace*, his *Mercy* from us; we utterly forfeit his Favour, and devote our ſelves to his Severeſt Vengeance. Every Man that takes an *Oath*, doth in effect addreſs *himſelf to God at this Rate*.

'*As far forth*, as I *Depoſe*, or *Promiſe truly*, or faithfully; *So do thou Help* me (*O God I beſeech thee*) *and BLESS me, PROTECT and PROSPER me: But if I SWEAR FALSELY, if I Teſtify a Lye, if I Promiſe deceitfully, if I prove TREACHEROUS to my WORD, then O God, Thou Righteous Judge, Thou God of Vengance*, I Diſclaim and Renounce all *Help*, *all Hopes* of *Mercy* from Thee: Let thy *Vengeance* purſue and haunt me; Let all the *Judgments* of thy Wrath ſeize and fall upon me; may'ſt Thou *never help* me, nor incline Thy *Mercy* toward me, but *caſt me away in thy Diſpleaſure*, and ſuffer me to *Periſh* both here and hereafter.

Oh!

Oh! what a load must this be to the *Perjurers Conscience? What can the World afford, that is able to relieve or support a* Soul so *desperately* guilty, *so mortally wounded? To whom shall he flee for Succour*, when God has *forsaken* him, and all good Men *abhor* him, and his own Conscience doth *Gripe* and *Tear* him? and what will it be in the end thereof? what shall be the fatal Doom of the *Perjur'd*, but Eternal Ruin and Damnation? His Portion shall be with the *Hypocrite*, and with the *Traitour*, with *Achitophel* and *Judas*: Don't think because God does not lay him sprawling with a *Thunder-bolt*, or strike him over the Face with a Flash of *Lightning*, that therefore he is safe, and shall escape the Vengeance of the *Almighty*: No surely, tho' God doth suspend the Execution, He will one Day reckon with, and take account of this Wicked and unfaithful Servant. *He* will not be Merciful *to them, that offend thus out of Malicious Wickedness, but leaves them often in an incorrigible Estate*, and rarely vouchsafes them the Grace of *Repentance.*

If *their* case then be so dangerous, and almost desperate, is it not sad to observe so many Thousands involv'd in this great guilt, hugging themselves in the Possession and Enjoyment of the Advantages of their *Perjury*, and never expressing any resentment and remorse, for having taken their *Unlawful* and *Impious Oaths*, and for having acted by Virtue of *Them*, *the GREATEST VILLAINIES?*

I declare that I could not administer one drop of Comfort from the *Promises* of the *Gospel* to a *Perjur'd* Soul; tho' he should seem never so *sensible of his Sin and Danger, unless I could prevail with him to Disgorge the invenom'd MORSEL, to make SATISFACTION to the Injur'd party, if possible, and* testify the sincerity of his Repentance, by *Restitution.* There is Mercy *with God for the truly Penitent*; But the *Case of the PERJURER is dangerous and difficult*; *his Repentance must be SEVERE and VERY PARTICULAR*; *it will cost him abundance of Tears to wash off so foul a Stain*; *his Contrition must be SHAP and VIO-*

VIOLENT, *in* proportion to the guilt and aggravations of *this* Sin.

Id. p. 28. To all that are *Faithful* and *Loyal* to their PRINCE, *I apply the* Advice of *Solomon*, I Councel you to keep the King's Commandment, *and that in regard of the Oath of God.* By this *your Souls are* bound with a Bond, as *God ſpeaks*; *your Hearts are knit to your Sovereign in FAITH and Allegiance*; *POWER on Earth can Diſpenſe with your OATH*; *No Pretence can juſtifie the BREACH of your PROMISE, and SWORN Duty: You CANNOT, you MUST NOT* go from your Word, *upon any Account whatever.*

Id. p. 29. It highly concerns us *All* therefore, both in *Duty* and Intereſt, to continue firmly *Loyal to the KING, and true to the MONARCHY*; *to keep our Old Lawful Oaths*, and to abhor all *Illegal* and *New ones.*

March on *Judg.* 19. 30. p. 11. *Perjury* is a Sin ſo heinous in it ſelf, as that it puts a cheat both on God and Man; therefore was anciently accounted by the *Ægyptians* a double offence.

Dr. Doves *Sermon on* Tit. 3. 1. p. 23. No Man can diſobey his Governors, without breaking the moſt ſacred *Laws of JUSTICE and HONESTY*; *without downright Perjury towards GOD, and Perfidiouſneſs towards MAN. Every one aſſoon as he is born, is under the Protection of the Government*, and becomes a *Subject* to his *Natural Liege* Lord——and he cannot but conceive himſelf *under a Natural Obligation of Obedience to the Laws of the Community, of which Providence* and *Nature, have made him a MEMBER*———*The Government has a Right*——*to exact OATHS of ALLEGIANCE* and Promiſes of Fidelity and Loyalty—— in which Promiſes and Oaths being once engag'd; *it is horrible IMPIETY and WICKEDNESS to violate 'em*; *for nothing can excuſe us from the OBLIGATION of an OATH, but the plain Unlawfulneſs of the MATTER to which we are Sworn*;

Now

Now this can never take place when we Swear ALLEGIANCE *only to our* LAWFUL *Governors, according to the* WILL *of* GOD, *the* DICTATES *of* NATURE, *and the* REASON *of the Thing, the* EXAMPLE of all *Ages*, and the *Known Laws* of our own *Nation.*

Natural Allegiance is abſolute, pure and indefinite. That ſuch an Allegiance there is as *Natural*, if you read the Indictment of the Lord *Dacres*, 26 *H.* 8. you ſhall find it run thus, *Quod prædictus Dominus* Dacre *debitum fidei & Ligeantiæ ſuæ quod præfatu Domino Regi* Naturaliter *& de jure impendere debuit minime*, &c. *Which in* Engliſh is thus, That the aforeſaid Lord *Dacre* not regarding the Duty of his Faith and Allegiance, which he did *Naturally*, and *of right*, owe to, and ought to pay to King *Henry* VIIIth. And Cardinal *Poole*, 30 *Hen.* VIIIth being likewiſe indicted of Treaſon, *Contra Dominum Regem ſupremum* Naturalem *Dominum ſuum*, that is againſt the King his *Natural* and ſupream Lord; which Indictments prove a *Natural Allegiance* to be not only due, but of right due from every Subject to his Sovereign King. *Looking-glaſs for the Parlia. p. 22.*

A late Act ſays, That the pretended Prince of *Wales* aſſum'd the Name and Title of *James* the III. *&c.* and caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd, *&c. contrary to the Duty of his Allegiance.* Now if it were contrary to the Duty of his Allegiance (who never took any Oath) then by the Opinion of that Parliament there is a *Natural Allegiance* due to our Lawful and Rightful Kings.

As Allegiance is *Natural*, ſo is it *Abſolute*, ſo is it *pure*, and *Indefinite*, it ought not to be conſtrain'd or bridled with any Bonds, nor reſtrain'd to any place; for a Man tho' he may Abjure his Country, or his Kingdom, yet he cannot *abjure* his *Allegiance*, nay he cannot *Alien*, *give away*, or *withdraw* his *Allegiance* from his King by the *Law of Nature*, to his King's prejudice, tho' he ſhould gain his Liberty, freedom of Eſtate and Honour or Advancement unto the *Bargain*; for St. *Auguſtin* *Looking-glaſs &c. p. 22.*

Auguſtin ſaith, *Nemo* jure naturæ *cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet*, no Man by the *Law of Nature*, ought to be made richer by the loſs of another; but if I withdraw mine Allegiance, the King hath loſt a Subject, therefore I may not do it, neither can the King releaſe it to any of his Subjects, it being an inſeparable Accident inherent in the Perſon of a King, and is due *Omni*, *Soli* and *Semper*, to every King under *Heaven* from his own *Natural Subjects*: It is due to *every* King, and *always* to Kings, and *only* to Kings by the *Law of Nature*; And it is only due to his *Perſon*, not to his Office, which is only imaginary and inviſible, und no where formally to be found but in his *Perſon*, as by the Caſe of *Calvin* more fully appears; Hereupon I conclude, That Allegiance being due by the *Law of Nature* to the King's *Perſon*, and that I neither can *abjure* it, nor *alien* it, or *withdraw* it from him, nor he releaſe it to me, and that it is only due to *Him* and to no *Other*: I cannot take this [*Negative*] Oath and keep it, without violation of the *Law* of *Nature*, and injury both to my ſelf and Sovereign King, becauſe the Laws of Nature are *immutable*, *Bracton*. L. 1. *Cap.* 6. *Doctor and Student Cap.* 5, 6.

Id. p. 42. When a Man hath taken an *Oath* to perform, that which by the Law of *God* and *Nature* he is bound to perform, as *to Obey his King*, or to *Honour his Father and Mother*, this Oath can never be *Abrogated* or *Diſpenſed* withal, nor a Man *Abſolv'd* from the Duty of Obſervance of it by any Power under Heaven, and therefore if I ſhall take any Oath contradictory to the former Oaths of Allegiance and Duty to my King, which *Duty and Allegiances belong to him from me, by the Law of* God *and* Nature——— that Oath were utterly *unlawful* and *Falſe*, by the Laws of *God* and *Nature*, and againſt *Conſcience*——— I conclude therefore that,

P. 43. I cannot take this [Negative] Oath by the Rule of *God's Law*, with a ſound and good Conſcience, againſt the Light whereof, if I ſhould take it, I ſhould declare my ſelf either to be an *Atheiſt*, in thinking there was no God to puniſh for ſo great a Wick-

a Wickedneſs, or elſe to imagin that he were either *Unjuſt*, and *would* not Puniſh, or *unable*, and *could* not, or ſo *careleſs* of the Actions of Men, that he either *not ſeeth*, or not *regardeth* their Wicked Acts; which Opinion the very Heathens confuted and rejected, as you may find at large in *Tully*'s firſt Book, *De Natura Deorum*.

Whether all Lawful and Sacred Oaths, *&c.* do not firmly, immutably, inviolably bind the Souls and Conſciences of all that take them, to an *abſolute*, indiſpenſible, ſincere and faithful performance? *Prinn's* Concordia Diſcors. *p.* 15.

Whether the late *violation* through fear, or ſelf-reſpects, much more *the wilful PREVARICATION, perjurious Repeal, Abrogation, Abjuration of our* Sacred, Lawful Oaths, *&c. be not a moſt deteſtable, crying, ſcandalous, damning Sin, exceedingly diſhonourable to God, injurious to Religion*, &c? *Id.* p. 16.

Whether thoſe who have made, taken and equally violated all or moſt of the contradictory *Oaths*, &c. be not *Perjur'd Perſons* and *Covenant Breakers in Folio*, &c?

Whether it be not a moſt Impious, Unchriſtian, Execrable, if not Atheiſtical practice, for any Perſons whatſoever, *&c.* to impoſe an Oath——diametrically repugnant to, and inconſiſtent with their former Legal Oaths, *&c.*—to their Lawful Sovereign, to enſnare, wound their Conſciences, and involve them in the guilt of inevitable and moſt apparent Perjury, *&c?* *Id.* p. 17.

Whether the——Oaths of *Supremacy*, *Allegiance*, &c. extending not only to the late King's [*Charles* I.] Perſon, but HIS HEIRS AND SUCCESSORS, do not inviolably bind both them, their Poſterities, and our whole three Nations, Kingdoms in perpetuity, in point of Law and Conſcience, ſo long as there is any Heir of the Crown and Royal Line in being? *Id.* p. 18.

Whether the late Illegal Oaths, Ingagements to the New *Republicans* and *Protectors*, enforced on the People againſt *Id.* p. 36.

their

their Conſciences, without any Lawful Parliamentary Authority —— being directly contradictory to their former *Lawful Oaths* to our Kings, THEIR HEIRS AND SUCCESSORS, be not abſolutely void in Conſcience, yea mere Prophanings, Abuſes of God's Sacred Name; and if taken out of *Fear, or Weakneſs*, no ways to be obſerv'd, no more than *David's Oath, reſolution to ſlay* Nabal *with* all his Family, 1 *Sam.* 25. or *Herod's* Oath to *Herodias*, which he had *more juſtly violated than obſerv'd, in beheading* John the Baptiſt, *Matt.* 14. 6, *to* 13.

Of Depoſing Kings, &c.

Prerog. of Primogenit. p. 122.

THE Doctrine and Practice of Depoſing *Lawful* Kings, and *Excluding* the *Right Heir* from Succeeding in the Throne for his being an *Heretick, Idolater, Tyrannical and Wicked*, is grounded upon nothing but *Popery and Phanaticiſm*.

Dr. Burnet's *Diſc. of the Doct. Worſhip and Pract. of the Ch. of* R. p. 36. *Twelves*, p. 75.

I cannot leave this Particular [*viz.* of the *Depoſing Kings*] without my ſad Regrates, that too deep a tincture of this Spirit of *Antichriſtianiſm* is among *many, who pretend much Averſion to it*; 'ſince *the Doctrine of Reſiſting Magiſtrates, upon* COLOURS *of* RELIGION 'is ſo ſtifly maintain'd, *and adher'd to by* 'many, *who pretend to be highly reform'd, tho' this be* 'one of the Characters of the *Scarlet-colour'd Whore*.

Id Royal Martyr, p. 29.

——The ſame Equality of Juſtice and Freedom, that oblig'd me to lay open this [*viz. Depoſing Doctrine*] ties me to tax alſo thoſe, who pretend a great heat againſt *Rome*, and value themſelves on their *Abhorring* all the *Doctrines* and *Practices* of that *Church*, and yet have carried along with them one of their *moſt Peſtiferous Opinions*, pretending *Reformation*, when they would bring all under *Confuſion*; and Vouching the *Cauſe* and *Work* of *God*, when they were deſtroying that *Authority* he had ſet up, and oppoſing thoſe

im-

impower'd by *Him*: And the more *Piety* and *Devotion* ſuch *Daring Pretenders* put on, it ſtill brings the greater *Stain* and *Imputation* on *Religion*, as if it gave a *Patrociny* to *thoſe Practiſes* it ſo *plainly* condemns. This is *Judas*-like, to Kiſs our Maſter when we betray him, and to own a zeal for *Religion*, when we engage in Courſes that *Diſgrace* and *Deſtroy* it.

'But, Bleſſed be God, *Our Church* hates and condemns *this Doctrine*, from what hand ſoever it come, and hath eſtabliſht the *Right* and *Authority of Princes on SURE and UNALTERABLE Foundations, enjoyning an INTIRE OBEDIENCE to all the Lawful Commands of AUTHORITY, and an ABSOLUTE SUBMISSION to that Supreme Power GOD HATH PUT IN OUR SOVEREIGNS AHNDS. This Doctrine we JUSTLY glory in, and if any that had their Baptiſm and Education in OUR CHURCH have turn'd Renegadoes from this, they prov'd no leſs Enemies to the Church her ſelf, than to the CIVIL AUTHORITY: So that* their *APOSTACY leaves no blame on OUR CHURCH, which glories in nothing more than in a well-temper'd Reformation from the LATTER Corruptions, which the Dark Ages brought into the pure and PRIMITIVE Doctrines which our SAVIOUR and his APOSTLES taught, and the firſt Chriſtians retain'd and practis'd for many Ages.*

'*The Principles* of *Our Church* are directly *contrary to them* [i. e. *Depoſing Principles*] *and our Houſes of Convocation would as readily condemn any ſuch Doctrines as the Univerſity of* OXFORD; *and All the World knows how Repugnant ſuch Principles are to thoſe of the Church of* England; *And none can be Rebels to their Prince, but they muſt be* falſe to *our Church.*

Dr. Stillingfl. *Doctrine and Practice of the Ch. of* Rome *truely ſtated*, p. 106.

If the Right both of Succeſſion and Government be ſettled in one Family, according to propinquity and priority of Blood, the People may neither take away nor vary the ſame; and if they do, they commit Injuſtice, they violate the Law of Nations,

Hayward's *Anſw. to* Dol. *cap.* 1. *p.* 36.

Nations, whereby they expoſe themſelves, not only to the Infamy and hate of all Men, but to the revenge of thoſe that will attempt them.

Craig. p. 30. 'Tis evident if People preſume to transfer Kingdoms at their pleaſure, and lift up themſelves above their Sovereign Lord, and Dethrone his true and Lawful Children and *Heirs*, they become not only guilty of *Ingratitude* towards the Family of their former Kings, and the Branches of it, but of the greateſt *Wickedneſs* and *Impiety againſt God Almighty*, by invading that Power which he has reſerved to himſelf of diſpoſing of Kingdoms.

Id. p. 70. Certainly the Right and Privilege of *Succeſſion* in Kingdoms has obtain'd and been allow'd of by moſt Nations; but *Election* by very few in compariſon. And if perhaps People neglecting the Right of *Succeſſion*, and the *Lawful Heir*, have ſometimes choſen another to be their King, ſuch Facts are ſo far from proving their rightful Power to do them, or to juſtify their Deeds, that on the contrary they are Evidences upon Record of the Peoples *Injuſtice* and *ungovernable Violence*: Neither can ſuch wicked Practices hurt the Right of the *True Heir*, tho' they never fail to confound the *State*, and turn all things *Topſy-Turvy*, &c.

Id. p. 85. *Excluſion*, or tacite paſſing by the *Rightful Heir*, has always been, and always will be, the Parent of innumerable Calamities in every Kingdom that is guilty of it.

Id. p. 104. 'Tis a never-failing Obſervation, *That Kingdoms which are Hereditary, and devolve by Right of Blood, are ſtill more bleſt with happineſs and proſperity, than thoſe in which Kings are rais'd to their Place and Dignity by Tumultuary Elections.*

Id. p. 106. Two things are to be taken notice of, Firſt, That God ordain'd, *That all living Creatures ſhould be ſubject to Man, all Men ſhould obey the King, and the King be obedient to God*: who wills alſo *That Kingdoms be Hereditary.* Secondly, *That by violating the Divine Law, the quiet and re-*

poſe

poſe of a Kingdom or Commonwealth can never be eſtabliſh'd.

There cannot be an inſtance of greater *Injuſtice*, than to rob a Man of his *Patrimony*, nor any greater Offence againſt God, who has ſo often commanded, *to give every Man his due*, to do to others, as we our ſelves would *be done by*; and ſo highly commends Juſtice, upon which both the Law and the Prophets do hang; and engages himſelf *to revenge all Injuſtice and Unrighteouſneſs of Men.* Nor can any greater danger threaten a Commonwealth than the *Excluſion* of the *Lawful Heir* from his *Right*, and the putting another, at the pleaſure and diſcretion of the giddy-headed, tumultuating People, or by the Crime of ſome powerful and deceitful Grandee, in room of the *true Heir.* *Id.* p. 226.

Among Chriſtians a chief regard is to be had to what is Right and Honeſt, what is Pious and Juſt in all their Deliberations and Conſults; and after that point is once ſettled, then they may conſider what is profitable and beneficial. *Id.* p. 227.

Poſſeſſion without and againſt Right, is not ſufficient to make a bad Title Lawful. *Id.* p. 338.

God, by his own Law, by the Judgments of his own Mouth, calls *Heirs* to the *Succeſſion* of their Parents; this, Equity and Juſtice Divine, this, Piety and our Holy Religion, require at our Hands, which we profeſs'd when we gave up our Names, or Liſted our ſelves under his Banner in Baptiſm; and we ſhall be convinc'd ſome time or other, that unleſs in all our Deliberations and Conſults, we have regard to Piety and Juſtice, we muſt at laſt render an Account whether we will or will not, before the Tribunal of a moſt juſt Judge, where there can be no ſhifting or letting fall the Suit, nay, no place nor excuſe left for delay. *Id.* p. 420.

Should we take leave and bid a final adieu to all *Right* and *Juſtice*, as well Divine as Humane, yet, theſe being taken away, the foundation of humane Society would neceſſarily be *Id.* p. 421.

deſtroyed; if no regard were had of *Juſt* and *Unjuſt*, *Lawful* and *Unlawful*, but only of *Publick Welfare*.

Id. p. 425. The publick quiet cannot be firm and durable, unleſs you do what is juſt to *every* Man, and recognize the *True Heir* of the Kingdom.

Id. p. 297. 'Tis the general opinion of all, that eſpecially an *Heir* or *Succeſſor* to a *Kingdom*, who is *Rightfully* call'd to the Government of it, is intirely free from all the Objections that might hinder the Succeſſions of *Private* Men.

Id. p. 336. The whole Family of *Somerſet* was oftner than once found guilty of Treaſon; and *Henry* the 7th himſelf alſo, and yet that *Attainder* did not hinder his *Succeſſion* to the Crown.

Id. p. 336. The Succeſſion of the Kingdom [of *England*] was——adjudged to belong of right to the Family of *York*; and the Three *Henries* of the Houſe of *Lancaſter* were declared by the Parliament that was held at *Weſtminſter* in the year of our Lord 1461. to have been Kings of *England Succeſſively*, *indeed*, but not of *Right*.

Id. p. 203. In Kingdoms, the Right is from *Succeſſion*, and the Coronation and Interpoſition of an Oath, is only Declaratory of the Right, that the beginning of the new King's Reign may be more Auguſt, and highly regarded by the Subjects.

Craig's *Hiſt. Succ.* p. 187. I, with all good Men, do aſſert and maintain——That it is not Lawful for the People to renounce their Prince, tho' he be a *Wicked Man* and an *Oppreſſor*. See this prov'd by Scripture.

Id. p. 199. We are to obey our Princes, tho' they be *croſs* and *wicked* alſo [and that by the Word of God] until God ſhall be moved by the Prayers of his People [the only method for ſhaking off Tyranny] to remove the Plague, as he is intreated to remove from them the Sword and Famine, leſt the People fall into Civil Wars, a much heavier judgment, where as many Tyrants domineer as there are Soldiers.

It

It is not Lawful for Subjects to ſtretch forth their Hand againſt their King, upon account of *Tyranny*, *Adultery*, *Murder*, or even *Idolatry* it ſelf; as knowing that, if in the mean time they expect with patience the Judgment of the Lord, the power of Tyranny will ſoon be paſt. *Id.* p. 191.

The power of the People over Kings is not to be endur'd, or that the Rights of Lawful Power and Authority ſhould be diminiſhed, ſeeing —— that Power derives not it ſelf from the PEOPLE, but the King has his Authority from GOD, whoſe *Deputy* only he is, and to whom ALONE, as to his *Superior*, from whom he has his Commiſſion and Delegation belongs the *Hearing* and *Judging* the King. And whoever are Accomplices in any Inſurrection and Rebellion againſt their Sovereign, *they Reſiſt God's Ordinance*, and procure *Damnation* to themſelves by the juſt Judgment of God, whoſe Laws and Ordinances they preſum'd to overturn and aboliſh: For that is the juſt puniſhment of that Crime. *Id.* p. 198.

The Lord ſays (*Prov.* 8. 15.) *By me Kings Reign.* And they are oblig'd to give account of their Adminiſtrations ONLY to him who Delegated them, require it who will.——They are guilty of a moſt heinous injury againſt God, who ſtretch forth their Hands againſt his Lieutenant, or Delegate, or bring the *Hearing* or *Judging* of his Actions to other than *God himſelf*. *Id.* p. 189.

To puniſh Princes was never permitted to be done by any *Law*: Nay, nor by *Fact*, but only where *Force* and *Violence*, which ſubvert all *Law* and *Right*, bear ſway. *Id.* p. 184.

The Depoſing Doctrine breaks all Bonds and Oaths of Obedience, how Sacred and Solemn ſoever they have been. And that we may the better apprehend the pernicious Conſequence *of this Doctrine, we are to conſider* (1.) *That there is a mutual Duty owing between Princes and Subjects, on the Account of the Relation between them, ſuch as doth Naturally ariſe from it, Antecedently to their embracing the Chriſtian Religion*: For *without an Obligation to Obedience on the SUBJECTS* *Pref. to Jeſuits Loyalty*, p. 16.

part, the Authority of a PRINCE *is an Insignificant Thing, and the publick good of the* Society cannot be obtain'd. (2.) *That when Subjects are Absolv'd from their* OATHS *of* ALLEGIANCE *by the* POPE, *they are thereby declar'd free from the Natural Duty they were oblig'd to before. For Allegiance to Princes doth not flow from* the Relation between THEM *and the* PEOPLE, *as* CHRISTIANS, *but as* MEMBERS *of a* CIVIL SOCIETY; *and therefore the* Absolving Subjects from that, is in plain Terms nulling the Obligation to a Natural Duty, *and taking away the force of OATHS and Promises.* (3.) *That all Mankind are* agreed, That it is a Sin to break a *Lawful Oath, and the more solemn* and weighty the *Oath* is, the greater the *Perjury*: But in the Case of the Pope's *Absolving* Subjects from their OATH of ALLEGIANCE, *it must be said, that that which otherwise would be a* SIN *becomes* NONE; *and a notorious Crime becomes a Duty,* becauſe done by Virtue of the *Pope's* Authority.

Id. p. 17. This is that now (ſays the ſame Author) we are to underſtand, if poſſible, what Authority that is in the Pope which can turn *Evil* into *Good*, and *Good* into *Evil*; that make *Civil Obedience* to Princes to be a *Crime*, and *Perjury to be None. This is an Admirable Power, and greater than the School-men will allow to God himſelf, where there is Intrinſick Goodneſs in the Nature of the thing, and Inſeperable Evil from the contrary to it.* For, ſay they, Divine Providence being ſuppos'd, God *cannot* but forbid thoſe Evil Actions which Natural REASON DISCOVERS to be evil; For how can the HATRED of *God* or a *Willful Lye*, be any *other than EVIL? The ſame I ſay* (ſays the Doctor) 'of *DISOBEDIENCE to PARENTS, and VIO-* 'LATION *of OATHS Lawfully made*; which 'are things evil in their own Nature.

Id. p. 18. The Queſtion now is, Whether the Pope can do that, which, they ſay, God himſelf cannot, *viz.* make *Perjury* not to be a *Sin*. 'For an *Oath of Allegiance cannot be* 'deny'd to be a LAWFUL *Oath, and a Lawful*

'*Oath*

' *Oath lays an Obligation on Conſcience to the perfor-*
' *mance of it, and gives another a* JUST RIGHT
' *to challenge that Allegiance as a* DUTY *by Virtue of*
' *his* OATH; *and wherever there is a* neceſſary Du-
ty, *God Himſelf* (ſaith Aquinas) *cannot Diſpence*;
For then he would act contrary to the Rule *of Eter-*
nal Righteouſneſs; *which he can never do.*

Our Queſtion, ſaith the Doctor, is only
about Diſpenſing, with the force and *Id. Ibid.*
Obligation of a LAW *of* NA-
TURE, ſuch as *keeping* our *Oaths*, UNDOUBT-
EDLY is.

Again, In every *Oath* are Three
Things to be conſider'd. (1.) The *Id.* p. 19.
Obligation upon *the Perſon to perform*
what he Swears. (2.) *The Right which the Perſon*
has to challenge that Performance to whom the Oath is
made. (3.) *The* INTEREST *which* GOD *has,*
as Supream Judge, to ſee the Performance, and to puniſh
the Breakers of it.

[Now] How comes the Pope to have a Power *to*
give away another Mans NATURAL *Right? A*
Man Swears ALLEGIANCE *to his PRINCE,*
by Virtue of which OATH *the* PRINCE chal-
lenges his *Allegiance as a* SWORN DUTY:
And ſo it is according to all Rules of common Reaſon and
Juſtice. The Pope diſpenſeth with this Oath and *Ab-*
ſolves the Perſom from this Allegiance, *i. e.* the *Pope*
gives away the Princes *Right, whether he will* or no.
Is not this great Juſtice, and infinitely *becoming God's*
Vicar on Earth? But how came the Pope by that Right,
belonging unto him on a meer Civil account? What Autho-
rity then hath the Pope to diſpoſe of it? May he not as
well give away all the juſt RIGHTS *of Men to their*
Eſtates, as thoſe of *Princes* to their *Crowns?*

The *Pope cannot take away the Right of*
a Third Perſon; *which he muſt do,* *Id.* p. 22.
if he can ABSOLVE SUBJECTS *from*
their ALLEGIANCE *to their* PRINCE, *which is*
as much due to *him*, as a Summ of Money is to a
Creditor.

Paul Layman [a Popiſh Writer] confeſſeth that *a Promiſſory Oath made to a Man cannot ordinarily be relaxed without the conſent of the Perſon to whom it is made; becauſe by ſuch an Oath a Man, to whom it is made, doth acquire a juſt Right to the Performance, as he hath to any of his Goods, of which he cannot be depriv'd.* But from this juſt Rule he excepts, as the reſt do, *The Publick Good* of the *Church*, altho' not for the *Good* of any private Perſon; whereas the *Churches Honour ought more to be* preſerv'd by the *ways of* JUSTICE *and* HONESTY. *Id.* p. 24.

Wo be to them that make Good Evil, and Evil Good, when it ſerves their turn; for this is plainly ſetting up a *particular Intereſt, under the Name of the* GOOD *of the* CHURCH, aad violating the Laws of Righteouſneſs *to advance it. If Men break through* OATHS, *and the moſt ſolemn Engagements and Promiſes, and regard no Bonds of* JUSTICE *and* HONESTY, to compaſs their Ends. 'Let them call 'them by what ſpecious Names *they pleaſe, The* 'GOOD OLD CAUSE, *or the* GOOD OF 'THE CHURCH (it matters not which) there 'can be no greater ſign of *Hypocriſie and Real Wickedneſs than this. For the main part of true Religion* 'doth not lye in Canting Phraſes, *Myſtical Notions, neither in ſpecious ſhows of* Devotion, *nor in Zeal for the* 'TRUE CHURCH; but in Faith, *as it implies the performance of our Promiſes, as well as belief* of the *Chriſtian Doctrine; and in Obedience, or a careful performance of the LAWS of CHRIST, among which, Obedience to the King, as ſupream is one; which* 'they can *never* pretend to be an inviolable Duty, who make it in the power of another Perſon to Abſolve them from the *moſt ſolemn Oath of Allegiance*; and conſequently ſuppoſe, that to *keep* their *Oaths* in ſuch Caſe, would be a *Sin, and to violate them* may *become a DUTY; which is in effect to overturn the Natural differences of* GOOD *and* EVIL, *to ſet up a controuling Sovereign Power above that of their PRINCE, and to lay a perpetual Foundation for* FACTION *and* REBELION; *which nothing can keep*

'keep *Men from*, if *Conſcience* and their *Solemn Oaths* 'cannot.

It is obſervable that Cardinal *Bellarmin among other notable* REASONS *to prove the Popes* DEPOSING Power, *brings* this for one; *Becauſe it is not Lawful for Chriſtians to ſuffer an* HERETICAL PRINCE, *if he ſeeks to draw his Subjects to his beleif.* 'And what Prince '(*ſays the Doctor*) that believes his own Religion 'doth it not? And what then is this, but to raiſe 'Rebellion againſt a Prince, whenever he and 'they happen to be of different Religions? *Id.* p. 28.

There can be no other way to juſtify the *Wars* and Rebellions in *France*, &c.——but by ſtifly maintaining this Principle of the Lawfulneſs of reſiſting *Authority* on the Account of *Religion*. *Pref. to Jeſuits Loyalty*, p. 27.

'In my Mind there is very little 'Difference between DOMINION 'being FOUNDED *in* Grace, *and* '*being* forfeited *for* want of it. *Id.* p. 16.

The Common-wealths-men, when they are askt, How the People having once parted with their Power, come to reſume it; they preſently run to an 'Implicite Contract between 'the Prince and the People, by Virtue whereof the 'People have a Fundamental Power left in themſelves, 'which they are not to exerciſe but upon PRINCES 'violation of the TRUST committed to them. 'The very ſame ground is made the FOUNDATION of the Popes DEPOSING Power, *viz.* an 'IMPLICIT CONTRACT that all Princes made 'when they were CHRISTIANS, to ſubmit their 'Scepters to the Popes Authority, *&c.* *Id.* p. 12.

Who (ſays the *Dr.*) *made ſuch conditional ſettlements of Civil Power upon Princes? Who keeps the Antient Deeds and Records of them? For all the firſt Ages of the Chriſtian Church, this Conditional Power and Obedience was never heard of. Not when Emperours* were open and declar'd *Infidels or Hereticks. What reaſon can be ſuppoſed more now than was in the times of* CONSTANTIUS *and* VALENS *Id.* p. 13.

that were ARIAN *Hereticks? Yet the most Learned, Zealous and* Orthodox *Bishops* of that *time, never once thought of their losing their Authority by it.*

Grand Question p. 180. If no Precedents *can be found, they* [*the Commonwealths Men*] *appear to a certain Invisible thing call'd a Fundamental Contract of the Nation: Which being a thing* no where *to be* found, may signifie, what any one pleaseth.

Id. p. 75. *The Fundamental Contract of the Nation if it were produc'd——would* not amount to so much *as a BLIND MANUSCRIPT.*

Vindication of Answer to the Kings Papers, p. 99. *Is* it any *Argument* that *the Constitution* of our *Government is not firm, or that Loyal* Subjects cannot be certain of their Duty, because Men *of ill Principles have* run *away with false Notions* of a *Fundamental Contract* and Coordinate Power?

Oxf. *Decree* 1683. That there is a Mutual Contract, tacit or *Express between a Prince* and his *Subjects; and that if he perform* not his Duty, they are discharg'd from theirs.

prop. 2. The *University of Oxon.* 1683. *Decree, Judge and Declare* this Proposition to be *false, Seditious*, and *Impious* and *destructive of Government.*

Bp. *Sanderson's Preface to* Bp. *Ushers Power of the People.* As for those——that would derive the Original of all Government *from the People by way of Pact or Contract:* 'It may suffice to say that they take 'that for granted which never yet was 'prov'd, nor (*I dare say will ever be prov'd*) 'while the World stands, either from Scripture, 'Reason or History. *Jus Gladij*, the Right and Power 'of the Sword (which is really the Soveraign Power) 'belongs, we know, to Kings, but it is 'by the Ordinance of God, not the 'Donation of the People, *For* he 'beareth the Sword (as St. *Paul* tells 'us) *as* God's Minister, from whom he received it, and not as the *Peoples Minister*, who had no right to give it, because they never had it themselves.

τῇ Θεῷ διαταγῇ.

Rom. 13. 2. Θεοῦ διάκονος.

Both

Both Papiſts and Diſſenters deny the Kings Supremacy; one attributes it to the *Pope* Originally, the other to the *People*: And the ſame Arguments that the *Pope* uſeth for his Supremacy over Kings, the *Diſciplinarians* uſe for the eſtabliſhing of their Sovereignty. *Dr.* Fullers *Moder. Ch. Engl.* c. 17. §. 19.

The Common-wealths Men do agree with you, [*i. e.* the Jeſuits] for they do not ſay, that the *People* have a *Direct Power* over their *Princes*, (which were a Contradiction in it ſelf, for Subjects to Command their Sovereign) but only, that in caſe of a breach of *Truſt*, the People have an *Indirect Power* to call their *Princes* to an account, and to *Deprive them of their Authority*. *Preface to Jeſuits Loyalty* p. 4.

'Pope *Gregory* the VIIth ſaith, That 'Kings and Princes had their begin- 'ning from thoſe, who being ignorant of God, got 'the Power into their own Hands over their Equals, '(through the Inſtigation of the Devil) and by their 'Pride, Rapine, Perfidiouſneſs, Murther, Ambition; 'Intolerable Preſumption, and all manner of Wick- 'edneſs. *Id.* p. 5.

'Did ever any *Remonſtrance* (ſaith 'the Dr.) *Declaration of the Army*, 'or *Agreement of the People*, give a worſe account of 'the *beginning* of *Monarchy* than this Infallible Head 'of the Church doth? What follows from hence, 'but the juſtifying all Rebellion againſt Princes, 'which, upon thoſe Principles, would be nothing 'elſe, but Peoples recovering their *juſt Rights* againſt 'Intolerable Uſurpation? For ſhame Gentlemen (ſaith 'he ſpeaking to the Jeſuits) never upbraid us more 'with the PERNICIOUS Doctrines of the LATE- 'TIMES as to the Civil Government. The very 'worſt of our Fanaticks never talkt ſo reproachfully 'of it, as your Canoniz'd Saint doth. Their PRIN- 'CIPLES and PRACTICES we of the 'Church of *England profeſs to* Deteſt 'and Abhor. *Id.* p. 6.

I pray

I pray Gentlemen (saith he) tell me what Divine Assistance this good *Pope* had, when he gave this Admirable account of the *Original* of *Government*: 'And 'whether it be not very possible, upon his Principles, 'for Men to be *Saints* and *Rebels* at the same time.

Id. p. 7. 'I *have* (says the Dr.) had the 'Curiosity to inquire into the PRINCI-'PLES *of* Civil Government among the 'fierce Contenders for the Popes DISPENSING 'Power; *and I have* found those HYPOTHESES a-'vow'd and maintain'd, which *justifie all the Practices* 'of our Late Regicides——— *The main design* of the 'Book of Succession to the Crown of *England*, is to

Parsons. 'prove, That Common-wealths have 'sometimes Lawfully Chastiz'd their 'Lawful Princes, though never so Law-'fully descended, or otherwise Lawfully put in suc-'cession of their Crowns: and that this has fallen out 'ever, or for the most part, Commodious to the Weal 'publick; and that it may seem that God had ap-'prov'd and prosper'd the same, by the good Succes 'and Successors that ensu'd thereof.

Rouchier, *Id. p.* 9. *Another* [*de just Abdic. Hen.* 3.] *says that the Fundamental and Radical* Power *is so in the* People, that they may call Princes *to account for* Treason *against the People, and in such Cases they are not to stand upon such Niceties* and forms *of Law*; *but the Necessities of the State Supersede all those things.*

Reynolds. Another makes all Obedience to Princes to be so far *Conditional*, that if they do not their Duty, *Their Subjects are free from Obligation to obey them*: and saith, *That the contrary opinion is against the Law of Nations and the Common Reasons of Mankind.* And with great vehemency pleads for *the Supreme Power over Princes to lye in the Body of the People*; *or their Representatives. And 'tis observable that he makes the RIGHT of SUCCESSION by Weakness of Blood* to be a *Calvinistical Doctrine.*

The

The Common-wealth owes no Subjection or *Allegiance* to the *Heir Apparent*, in ſtrict Juſtice, till he be Crown'd, and Admitted King, though his Predeceſſor be Dead, *Parſons of Succeſſ.* Part. 1. c. 6. p. 133. 103.. Dolman *of the Succeſſion*, part. 1. cap. 6. p. 108.

The Coronation and Admiſſion makes a perfect and true King, whatſoever the *Title* by Succeſſion be otherwiſe: And except *Admiſſion* of the *Commonwealth* be joyn'd to the *Succeſſion*, it is not ſufficient to make a *Lawful* King. And of the two, the *Conſent* and *Admiſſion* of the *Realm*, are of far more Importance than *Nearneſs* of *Blood* and *Succeſſion*, *part* 1. *p.* 110. 136. *Id. part.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 110.

To theſe and other Seditious Tenets of the Jeſuits, may be oppos'd our *Engliſh* Law-Maxims and Opinions of our *Engliſh* Divines, *&c.*

The King is the only Supreme Governour in this Realm of *England*, and all other his Dominions and Countries.

The King of *England* is furniſh'd with plenary, whole, and entire Power, Prerogative and Juriſdiction.

The King of *England* is accountable to God only, whoſe Miniſter he is, but not to his People.

The Inferiour Magiſtrates derive all their Authority from the King.

The King is the fountain of Honour.

The King can do no wrong.

The King cannot forfeit his Right to the People.

The King makes the Laws, they are call'd his Laws.

The King has the ſole Power of the Sword.

The People neither collectively nor repreſentatively have any coercive Power over the King.

The People of *England*, next under God, do owe a *Natural* and Humble Obedience to the King.

'Tis High Treaſon, by the Laws of *England* to levy War againſt the King *before*, as well as *after* his *Coronation*.

The *Coronation* only *ſhews* and *declares*, but does not *make* the King.

The Kingdom of *England* has no *Interregnum*.

The King of *England* never dyes.

The

The King of *England* hath none Co-ordinate with him, or Co-partners in the Sovereignty.

The Crown of *England* is an Imperial Crown.

The Crown of *England* is an Hereditary Crown.

The Crown takes away all defects and Attainders in the Lawful Heir.

Id part 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 169.

Nothing in the World can ſo juſtly exclude an *Heir Apparent* from his *Succeſſion*, as want of *Religion*, nor any Cauſe whatſoever ſo juſtifie and clear the Conſcience of the Common-wealth, or of particular Men, that in this caſe ſhould reſiſt his Entrance, as if they judge him faulty in this point, *Id. part* 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 12. 169.

Id. part 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 171.

Id. part 1. *Cap.* 9. *p.* 171. 214.

So long as I have this opinion of him, albeit his Religion be never ſo true—— I ſhould do againſt my Conſcience, and ſin damnably in the ſight of God, to prefer him to a Charge where he may draw many others to his own Error and Perdition.

Id part. 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 172.

I affirm and hold, that for any Man to give his Help, or Conſent, and Aſſiſtance towards the making a King, whom he judgeth or Believeth to be faulty in Religion, and *conſequently* would advance either no *Religion, or the wrong, (if he were in Authority)* is a *moſt grievous and damnable Sin, to him that doth it, of what ſide ſoever the Truth be, or how good* or bad ſoever the Party be that is to be prefer'd, *Id. part.* 1. *p.* 172. 216.

Religion and Loyalty p. 32.

It is contrary to *Right REASON, to Law, to Equity, to all Laudable Precedents, to the PREROGATIVE of the ſaid Crown, yea and to the INTEREST of People too, to make the Succeſſion Arbitrary and Uncertain, which is a ſure way to involve this Nation in Blood and endleſs Quarrels* upon *every Change; a Conſequence ſo ſure and ſo dreadful, that no bare poſſibility of a future danger*, nor pretences of *ſeeming Experience*, can juſtifie either the *Honeſty* or *Prudence* of ſuch an Act.

Gui-

Guicciardin the Famous Hiſtorian tells us, that the conſtant oppoſition of the Popes to the Emperours had occaſion'd it to paſs for a Proverb, [*De Wit* cites this ſaying] (*Proprium eſt Eccleſiæ odiſſe Cæſares*) that it was Natural to the Church to hath the Emperour. Which how juſtly it is ſaid of the *Roman* Church, the World knows. ‘ But 'tis ſure nothing is more contrary ‘ to the *Principles* and Practice of this *Our* Church, ‘ who may rejoyce and glory in her fervent Love ‘ of her Gracious King, her devout Prayers for ‘ Him, and her conſtant Loyalty to Him, and His ‘ Royal Progenitors. So that I hope, it *may be more* ‘ *juſtly ſaid, that it is natural to the true Sons of the* ‘ *Church of* England *to Love the King. Whoever loves the Peace of the Church doth heartily pray for the flouriſhing of the* CROWN, *becauſe they live and grow together*; and he that is a *Friend* to the *one* cannot be a *Foe* to the *other*. His Friends are our Friends, and His *Enemies are our Enemies*; *for whoever attempts* to ſmite the *Shepherd*, ſeeks to deſtroy the *Flock*, and he is a mortal *Foe* to the whole Nation. I know nothing *ſo common with Rebels and Uſurpers, as to pretend love to thoſe they would ſtir up againſt their* LAWFUL *Prince*; *but it appears to be Ambition and Covetouſneſs in the latter end*; *and ſuch Perſons* deſign to riſe by *the fall of many Thouſands*. Or if *Religion* ſhould be the ground of the Quarrel, beſides our late ſad Experience, Reaſon will tell us, *that* WAR *and* FACTION, INJUSTICE *and* CRUELTY *can never lodge in thoſe Breaſts* where that pure and peaceable quality doth dwell. *If it be a* FORREIGN *Prince that oppoſeth our King, He is a* ROBBER, *and* UNJUST *to invade his Neighbours Rights, if he be a* SUBJECT *who riſeth againſt his* SOVEREIGN, *he hath Renounc'd* CHRISTIANITY *with his* ALLEGIANCE, and is to be eſteem'd a Troubler of our *Iſrael*. Therefore *whoſoever they be that are Enemies to the King, or whatſoever the Pretence be, we wiſh they may never Proſper in that* BLACK *Impiety* of *Unjuſt Invaſion*, or *Unchriſtian Rebellion*. ‘ And how exactly our Fidelity and our Devo-

Dr. Comber's *Compan. to the Temp. Prayer for the King.*

'Devotion in this, agree with the Rites and Manners 'of the First and Best Christians, *may appear to any 'discerning person.*

Preface to Jesuits Loyalty, p. 15.

'The Religion which the Primitive 'Christians taught, never medled with 'Crowns and Scepters, but left to *Cæsar* 'the things that were *Cæsar*'s, and never 'gave the least Intimation to Princes of 'any Forfeiture of their AUTHORITY, if they did *not* 'render to *God* the things that are Gods — It only requires all Men, of what Rank or Order *soever, to be Subject to the Higher Powers,* Because *they are the* ORDINANCE OF GOD.

Dr. Calamy's *Sermon on* Eccl. 10. 20. p. 10.

Supream Governors have the same Relation to God, as subordinate Magistrates have to their Sovereign Princes; they are imploy'd and intrusted by Him, and accordingly he expects subjection to them as to himself, that we should honour and serve them according to that high Divine Character they bear —— 'He takes what is due a-'gainst them, as done against Himself. Whosoever re-'sists the Power resists the ORDINANCE OF GOD, 'so saith St. *PAUL.* To oppose and shake off their 'Government, *to Plot and Conspire* against their LIFE, 'is to REBEL AGAINST GOD; and when we will 'not suffer our Lawful Sovereign, whom the Divine 'Majesty hath appointed, to Rule over us, we do by 'just Consequence and fair *Interpretation,* endeavour 'what we can to DETHRONE GOD HIMSELF, 'and prove TRAITOURS not only against our Natu-'ral Lord and King, but against the heavenly Mo-'narch Himself, by whose *Commission* He Reigns.

Id. P. 17.

'*Our Saviours Religion begets in Men the* most Gentle and Meek, Patient and Governable Spirits, and is so far from being inconsistent with *Loyalty* to our *Prince,* that 'tis the greatest Tye and Obligation to it in the World; *and there is no one can throw off his ALLEGIANCE towards his earthly Sovereign, but at the same time he* Renounces all *Duty* and *Conscience towards God. That Religion therefore, of which LOYALTY is not a very* consi-

conſiderable part is not of our *Saviours but our own making*; *when it diſpoſeth Men to outrages* and publick miſchiefs it is worſe than no Religion at all.

Chriſt and his Apoſtles, by their Precepts and the Primitive Chriſtians by their Practice are all clearly for ſubjection to Magiſtrates. *Bp. Lam. part before the Lords*, p. 35.

First, Our Bleſſed Saviour ſtrictly enjoyn'd all Men, *to give unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars, *Matt.* 22. 21. And he put himſelf to the expence of a Miracle to pay Tribute unto *Cæſar*, *Matt.* 17. 27. He ſubmitted himſelf to all the Powers that were over him at that time; His *Parents*, the *Sanhedrim*, *Herod*, *Pontius Pilate*; and he rebuk'd St. *Peter* ſmartly for ſmiting with the Sword *Matt.* 26. 52. bad him put it up again into his place; if not, he threatned the puniſhment of Death; *He ſhall periſh by the Sword.* Thus far of our Bleſſed Saviour.

Secondly, For his Apoſtles; Tho' their main Work was for Heaven, yet were they very ſolicitous to ſettle peace upon Earth, by preſſing home Obedience unto Magiſtrates. *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords ſake*, 1 Pet. 2. 13. *Pray for Kings and all in Authority*, 1 Tim. 2. 2. And the ſame Apoſtle delivers his mind fully and plainly, *Rom.* 13. 1. *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher powers.* And obſerve with what earneſtneſs he repeats it, as if he had foreſeen the Rebellious times, which we have felt, wherefore *You muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath but for Conſcience ſake*; not only for fear what the People may, but for what God will inflict, the moſt terrible Judgment within the Compaſs of Humane apprehenſion, Damnation.

Thirdly, The Practice of the Primitive Chriſtians is a faithful Commentary upon theſe Texts. And certainly their Authority, who liv'd in the Primitive Light (and who bear Witneſs to their own diſadvantage, teaching ſubmiſſion to Magiſtrates, the abſolute Tyrants; and who never took up Arms againſt them, but Prayers and Tears) ought to beget in us a conformity to thoſe innocent times, when Chriſtianity gain'd as much by Patience, as 'tis now likely to loſe by Rebellion.

The

The Emperours, for the first Three Hundred years after Christ, for the generality, were very bad, but especially to the Christians they were Bloody and Cruel; and yet we never read of any Insurrection of the Christians against them, tho' they were in a condition to do it, *&c.*

Thus you see the minds of Christ, his Apostles, and Primitive Christians, in that great point of Obedience to Magistrates. Therefore they who raise Tumults, abet Rebellion, set on Foot Plots and Conspiracies, teach Doctrines to Murther Princes, are not of the Gospel spirit; the same mind is not in them that was in Christ Jesus, *who came not to destry Mens Lives, but to save them.*

Hobbs's *Creed* p. 168.

There is no tye so strong as that of Religion, which eternally bindeth a Conscientious Subject in Allegiance to his Sovereign; and Wars arise from Mens *Self-interest* and *Lusts*; and true goodness is both the Creator and Preserver of Peace; unless a Man obeys for *Conscience sake*, all the Cords of outward *Pacts* and Covenants will not hold him, when he Dreams that the *Philistians* are upon him, and that he can deliver himself by force from the Power of his Enemies, in which Number the Prince himself is to be reckon'd by ambitious Subjects, out of Favour. Neither will such *Covenants* hold the People that pretend unto *Religion*, if they be mistaught that God is glorify'd in their *private good*, and that their private good is to be valu'd before the Life of a Prince, if they can safely deprive him of it. For it is truly said by a Friend of yours (*Mem. of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 53.) that Zeal, like Lead, is as ready to drop into Bullets, as to mingle with a Composition fit for Medicine.

Dr. Tillots. Serm. Luc. 9. 52. p. 20.

'For God's sake, what is Religion 'good for, but to Reform the Manners 'and Dispositions of Men, to Restrain 'humane Nature from Violence and 'CRUELTY, from falshood and 'Treachery, from SEDITION and REBELLION? 'Better it were there were no Reveal'd Religion, and 'that Humane Nature were left to the conduct of its

'own

'own Principles and Inclinations——than to be 'acted, by a Religion that inſpires Men with ſo wild 'a Fury, and prompts them to commit ſuch outrages 'and is continually ſupplanting Government and under-'mining the welfare of Mankind; in ſhort ſuch a Re-'ligion as teaches Men to propagate and advance it 'ſelf by MEANS ſo evidently *contray to the very* Na-'ture and end of Religion.

True Chriſtianity is not only the *Beſt, but the Beſt-Natur'd Inſtitution in the World; as ſo far as any Church is departed from good Nature; and become Cruel and Barbarous*, ſo far is it degenerated from Chriſtianity——Let us never do any thing for Religion that is contrary to it. *Id.* p. 30.

I have conſidered the Doctrine and Worſhip of *our Church: wherein if I could juſtify all our Practices, as well as I can do our PRINCIPLES, there were no grounds* to fear hurt from all the Cavils of Mortals. *D.* Burnet's *Diſc. of the Pr. Wor. & Prac. of the Ch. of R. p.* 70.

It muſt be acknowledged, that there was formerly a vaſt difference between *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* upon account of their *Principles* and *Practices*, and therefore a ſufficient reaſon for any Prince to make a *Difference* between *them, and I wiſh, I could ſay, it were ſo* ſtill, but I *Dare* not, I *Cannot* ſay ſo. *Dr.* Sherlock's *Serm. on Pſ.* 18. 50.

It is the moſt ſtrange, and Unaccountable thing, for Men in Defence or Favour of that way of Religion, which they take to be moſt truly the Chriſtian, to do *that which is ESSENTIALLI, and in* its *own Nature* Evil; for theſe act quite contrary to the *Deſign of Chriſtian Religion*, &c. *Dr.* Fowlers *deſign of Chriſtianity*, c. 24. p. 346.

Let us make *this a Rule to our ſelves always to ſubject thoſe who clamour for Reformation of publick ABUSES, and DEFENCE of the True Religion, and yet are Scandalouſly Wicked* and Flagitious in their *Lives* and *Manners.*

Dr. Calamy's Serm. on Eccl. 20. 30. p. 30.

Let us have a great *care of entertaining* any ill opinions or conceits of our Govenours.

Id. p. 31.

Let us all have a great care of ——Imbibing *Anti-monarchical Principles*—— *As that the Supreme Power* is always in the *People*, in the King only in Truſt; ‘ And the People may Reſume ‘ the POWER whenever they pleaſe, and call their ‘ King to an Account for his Execution of it; That he ‘ is but one of the THREE ESTATES of the Kingdom: ‘ *And* eſpecially one very ill ANTICHRISTIAN ‘ PRINCIPLE, That it is Lawful in ſome Caſes by ‘ FORCE and VIOLENCE to Reſiſt the SU- ‘ PREME AUTHORITY, eſpecially in Defence of ‘ the True Religion, particularly if the KING, or ‘ thoſe Commiſſion'd by him, uſe Illegal force to ‘ bring in another Religion, or *to Proſecute the Pro- ‘ feſſors of the True Religion.*

Id. p. 33.

If it be ſaid (as it muſt) that there is no *neceſſity*, ‘ that they [fleſhly Chri- ‘ ſtians] ſhould be Great or Rich, or ‘ Live in the World, and therefore ‘ they ſhould not do an Illegal *Action* ‘ *for the* Saving *of* Life *it ſelf. They* have——a ‘ Diſtinction ready at Hand, which is, That all is ‘ done for GOD'S GLORY; and we are not always ‘ *to tread in the* Ordinary Path to accompliſh that. ‘ A Man may ſtep out of his way for Chriſt's ſake; ‘ and he is mightily beholden (you may think) unto ‘ him, that he will Sin even againſt his own Conſci- ‘ ence for his HONOUR. What can he do more ‘ for Chriſt than Sacrifice his Soul and Damn himſelf ‘ to

Dr. Patrick's Jewiſh Hypoc. p. 371.

'to make him Glorious? Surely Christ will catch 'hold on such loving friends of his; and not suffer 'them to fall into that Damnation which they venture 'at, *seeing* it was for him. Just as Politicians, when 'they do unwarrantable Actions, think to excuse 'them with the REASON of STATE, and pre-'tence of COMMON Good: So do other Men 'think to shelter all their Evil doings under the 'Wings of Christ, and drown the voice of their Im-pieties with loud crys for the *Glory of God*, for the *Glory of God*: As those *States-men* who break their *Faith* and their *Oaths*, and at the rate of their *Honesty purchase the Common-welfare*; *so do these Men Transgress all Gods Laws, and will pawn their very Souls upon it, that all is done for the DIVINE HONOUR. As if God had need of Mens Sin, or we could* tell what is his Interest better than himself. I am something Angry at this vile Abuse of his Holy Name, for I can make no better sense of Mens Actions than this; That though God has told us his Mind and Pleasure, *yet they will instruct him what is more for his Benefit, and shew him a* way, *that he* thought not on, for the Advancement of his Glory.

Some make *Religion* a Pretence for their *Rebellion, Religion the greatest and Dearest* Interest of all, but me *thinks it is a dangerous way for Men to Rebell to save their Souls, when God has threatn'd Damnation against those who Rebel*——No Men fight for Religion who have any: Religion is a Quiet, Peaceable, Governable thing; it teaches Men to *suffer patiently*, but *never to Rebell.* *Dr.* Sherlock's *Serm. on.* pt. 18. 50. p. 2.

There is nothing more expresly contrary to the *reveal'd will* of God, than *Treasonable Plots*, and *Conspiracies* against *Sovereign Princes*: And though God does many times *permit* those things to be done, which he has *forbid* to be done, or else no Man could ever be Guilty of any Sin; yet his forbidding of it is a plain Argument, that he does not approve it, that he will

Countenance it; Nay that he will not *permit* it, but where he ſees great and wiſe reaſons to do ſo. A ſtrange Argument, from Gods *permiſſion* of an unrighteous Act, that it is his *Will* it ſhould be ſo, *Long's* 2d *part* unreaſonable, ſee *part p.* 43.

Slater. *def.* Stil. *p.* 467. This is the Old *Fanatick* way of expounding *Providence*, they think that Lawful to do, which *Providence* gives them an opportunity of doing.

Dr. Patrick's *Jewiſh Hypocr.* p. 336, If Men cannot attain, *&c.*——They have another little *Device* to *ſave them the labour* of yielding obedience; and that is call'd *Providence*, *which is able to* juſtify any Action againſt the *Authority* of *God's Word.* If they have ſomething to *accompliſh*, which is contray to *Law* and *Juſtice*, *and their Conſcience boggles at it*; *then becauſe they have a mind to keep* Friends with God, if he be content with fair Terms, they will entitle him ſome way or other to it, and they will not do it except his *Providence* lead them to it. And this has been ſwallow'd for very ſweet Doctrine by ſome *Grandees* (*as I am well aſſur'd*) *That a Man may follow* Providence *againſt a* Precept, *&c.*

Id. p. 377. ——Eſpecially obſerve how many of them [fleſhly Chriſtians] change with *Times* and *Occaſions*, and ſay that they muſt follow *Providence.*

Conold's *Notion of Schiſm* p. 51. I declare my ſelf an Eternal Enemy to that Religion which can Conſecrate *Sacrilege*, Hallow *Rebellion*, and Sanctify *Rapine* and *Injuſtice.* Nor will I ever have any Communion with thoſe Men, who Canonize the moſt Infamous *Traitours*, and *Murderers* for *Saints*, and condemn the Beſt——For *Malefactors.* I don't ſee but by the Theorems of this *Jewiſh Divinity*, Barabbas *might have* been *Sainted* and *Chriſt* recorded for an *Impoſtor.*

St. *Peter*

St. *Peter* who was the first that drew his Sword in his Master's Quarrel, was the first that deny'd his Name, and forsook his Cause; and doubtless, whosoever Fights for his *Religion* against his *Prince* can never pass the Muster without *Roman* dispensation.

Dr. Hickman's *Sermon July*, 27. 16. 80. p. 23.

It was the design of the Gospel, to make Men good in all Relations, and particularly to make *Good Subjects*, and such effect it had upon the Professors of it in the first Ages of Christianity; that as the Apologists for the Christian Religion observ'd unto the Emperours, it made the Christians better Subjects, than other Men. It made them cheerfully *Obey* the Emperour, and the Governors under him, in all *Lawful* things; and when things *unlawful* were commanded by them, it made them *suffer* with Patience and Constancy, *rather* than resist after the Example, that they should follow his steps. They were *thankful* to God for *Good* Princes, *as for the greatest Blessing*; *and look'd* upon *Bad* ones *to be* sent *by Him, as well as the GOOD. HE* (saith Augustine) *That gave the Empire to* Marius, gave it also to *Julius Cæsar*; *He that gave it to* Augustus, gave it to *Nero*; *He that gave it successively to those Mild Emperours, the two* Vespasians, *gave it also to the* most Cruel *Domitian, and not* to insist upon more Examples; *He that gave it to* Constantine, *then* Christian, *gave it to* Julian *the* Apostate, They took their Princes from *God*, as they did the *Weather, they were THANKFUL* for *Good ones, and SUFFERD* patiently *under* the *Bad, according to the Apostles Rule, who said*; *But if when you do* well and suffer *for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable to God.*

Harm *Div. and Law.* p. 67.

De Civ. Dei. l. 5. 21.

This was true and Laudable Divinity, in the former Ages of Christianity; and be he who he will, 'that 'speaks, or writes against it now, or traduces the

'Orthodox Clergy of this Church unto the People 'for maintaining of it, he wants very much the Faith, 'and Temper of a Christian, and *Savours not the 'things that be of God, but the things that be of Men.* 'Wherefore, whenever you hear any Man exclaim-'ing against the Christian Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, '*and mis-representing the Clergy, as Promoters of Ty-'ranny, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, because they 'preach it up in opposition to REBELLION, Note* that 'Man, and assure your *selves, that he hath already* 'conceiv'd *Lucifer* within him, and is a Rebel in his 'Heart.

Id. p. 69. The Spirit of *Resistance* is an *Un-christian* Spirit; It is so far from Savouring of *God*, that it savours strongly of the *Devil*, who fought against God; and where it Reigns in Men, it will make them take up *Arms* not only *Defensive*, but *Offensive*, and Murmur, and Rebel not only against *Kings*, who come to reign by *God's PROVIDENCE*, but against *Kings*, who are set up in a *Miraculous manner, by Immediate Designation from GOD. Thus* Corah *and his Accomplices conspired against Moses*, and *Absalom* against his Father *David.*

Id. p. 70. The Spirit of *Resistance* is an evil *Antimonarchical* Spirit, full of Pride and Envy against Superiours; which made the *Jews* resist all the Miracles of Christ, and put him to Death, tho' God had proclaim'd him for his Son, by a Voice from Heaven as loud as Thunder; and which made *Lucifer* in Heaven Rebel against God, for no other reason but because he was above him. I say the Spirit of *Resistance* is an Evil Anti-monarchical Spirit, and the *Anti-monarchical* Spirit is an *Evil* and *Restless* Spirit of *Resistance*, which would make the Commonwealths Men Murmur and Rebel, tho' the Ark of God were in the Camp.

The Duty of *Subjection* does consist *Positively in chooſing Affliction and Miſery of any kind, rather than the leaſt Sin.* Tho' we are not to ſeek the *Croſs*, yet yet we are not to go out of God's way to ſhun it: We muſt be content to ſuffer Perſecution, rather then ceaſe to live *godly* and *Honeſtly*, in this preſent World. Dr. Cave's Heb. 12. 4. P. 11.

It was one of the groſs Errors of thoſe Nominal Chriſtians, the *Gnoſticks*, that they might Lawfully Apoſtatize from the Truth in the time of Danger, and comply with the *Jews* for *fear of Perſecution*, for we muſt chearfully part with our Peace, our Eaſe, our Eſtates, yea our very Lives, rather than protect and ſecure them by *any Unlawful Practices*, by *any Sinful Compliances*, or *Oppoſitions*, either denying the *Truths*, or reſiſting the *Ordinance* of *God*, either *deſerting* our *Religion*, or *Fighting* in the *Defence* of it, under any *falſe Colours*, or any *Lawleſs Conduct*. We muſt ſuffer all that can befal us, rather than offend on either Hand. *For whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in Heaven*, ſaith our Bleſſed Saviour, *Matt.* 10. 33. And *whoſoever reſiſteth the power*, ſaith our Apoſtle, *Reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves damnation*, Rom. 13. 2. We may underſtand the Sin of *Rebellion*, and the *Chriſtian* Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*, much better from this Text of Scripture, than from the Writings of *Buchanan* in the days of our Fathers, of *J. Goodwin* ſince, and of the late Author of the Life of *Julian*: For here we are plainly taught that *Diſloyalty* to our King is altogether inconſiſtent with *Subjection* to our *God*; that the *Power of Rowers of Earth, are the ordinance of Heaven*; and Diſobedience to them will certainly expoſe us to the Puniſhments of *Hell*: Wherefore it hath been the conſtant practice of all *Good Chriſtians*, where they could not eſcape the effects of their Princes Diſpleaſure either by *Obedience* or by *Flight*, then to bear them with *Submiſſion* but never to Repel, or prevent them by force of *Reſiſtance*.

Thus did the *Primitive Christians* under *Heathen* and *Heretical* Emperours: Thus did the *Waldenses*, under *Popish* Persecutors; our Grand-fathers *under the Bloudy, Fiery Reign of Queen Mary*. And thus must we all do, if God see best to put us upon the same Tryals.

Dr. Patrick's *Epitome of Mins Duty*. p. 459.

Let us not do the *least* Evil, for to avoid the suffering of the *greatest* Evil; and let us not neglect *any* good, for the purchasing of the *best* good the World affords.

Dr. Stewards Serm. at Paul's p. 1.

God will not at all thank him as a *Reformer of his Church, who in the same* Act is no less than a *Traitour* to his *Deputy*; so that as for *Subjects* to take up *Arms* against their *King is by the Doctrine* of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* in all cases *Damnable*: so especially to do this in point of our *Religion*, which so much commends and blesses *Patience*, and *Sufferings* and *Martyrdom*, either upon pretence to *plant* it, where now it is not, or to *Reform* it where it has been planted, is of all other kinds of Contentious, or Wars, most *Turkishly Antichristian*.

Dr. Scot's Serm. on Prov. 24. 21. p. 50.

They who heartily espouse the Interest of *Religion*, are Enemies to all things that Religion is an *Enemy* to. And therefore if I *hate the Corruptions of Religion, for* Religion's sake: I must hate all *sinfull ways of Reforming it, because those SINFUL ways are as contrary to* Religion, as the Corruptions I would Reform by them. *As for Example; Religion is as great* an Enemy to *LYING and REBELLION, as it is to POPERY; and therefore if I truly love Religion*, I shall be as great an Enemy to the one as the other: Wherefore *if I see Men attempt to Reform Religion from Popery, by LYING or REBELLION; I am sure it is not to serve Religion that they do it*, but to serve themselves by unhinging the Government; for had they

they that ſincere zeal to Religion they pretend to, they would be as forward to obey its Command of ſpeaking the Truth, and ſubmitting to their Governours, as they are to comply with its Prohibitions of *Worſhiping Images*, and *Conſecrated Wafers*, becauſe its Authority is equally concerned in both. And beſides, they would conſider, that by uſeing *Unwarrantable* means to purge or defend it, they ſhall much more *prejudice* its Cauſe, than the beſt Reformation can *promote* it. And conſequently, that it is much more *for the True Intereſt of Religion, to be PERSECUTED by POPERY, than to be REFORMD by Rebellion: Whereas by uſing WICKED ARTS to defend it, they only* Reſcue it from one Enemy to Betray it to another: And to *Vindicate its Honour from Superſtition and Idolatry, Sacrifice it to Rebellion and Murder, When* therefore you find any Party of Men driving on a pretence of *Religion* or *Reformation* with *Lyes* and *Perjuries*, *Backbiting* and *Slanders*, *Tumults* and *Inſurrections*: As you tender either your Virtue, or Welfare, have nothing to do with them, for you will moſt certainly find a *Faction* of *Hypocrites*, it only makes a ſhow of *Reforming* Religion to *undermine* the *Government*.

It is wondrous to ſee what falſe colours, and feigned Cauſes, by *Slanderous Lyes* made upon their Prince ——, Rebels will devize to cloak their *Rebellion* withal, which is the worſt and moſt damnable of all falſe-witneſs bearing that may be poſſible. *Hom. of wilful Rebellion*, part 3 p. 360.

No Conjuncture of Circumſtances whatſoever can make that *Expedient* to be done at any time, that is of it ſelf and in the kind *Unlawful*. For a Man to *Blaſpheme* the Holy Name of God, to *Sacrifice* to Idols, to give *Wrong Sentence* in Judgment, by his Power to *oppreſs* thoſe that are not able to withſtand him, ſubtilly to *over-reach* others in bargaining, *to take up Arms* (Offenſive or Defenſive) againſt *Bp.* Sanderſons 12 *Serm. ad Aulam.* p. 522.

gainſt a *Lawful Sovereign*: None of theſe and *Sundry other things of like Nature, being all of them ſimply and* DE TOTO GENERE *unlawful, may be done by any MAN, at any TIME, in any Caſe, upon any COLOUR or pretenſion whatſoever, the* expreſs *Command* of *God himſelf only excepted; as in the caſe of ABRAHAM* for *Sacrificing his Son.* 'Not for the avoiding of 'SCANDAL, not at the inſtance of any FRIEND, or 'Command of any POWER upon Earth; nor for 'the maintenance of the LIVES or LIBERTIES 'either of our ſelves or others; nor for the Defence 'of RELIGION; Not for the PRESERVATION 'of a CHURCH or STATE: No nor yet, if that 'could be imagin'd poſſible, for the Salvation of 'a Soul, no not for the Redemption of the WHOLE 'WORLD.

Dr. Stillingfl. *Serm on Jud.* 11. p. 1*a*.

'If fair Pretences and glorious Titles 'will ſerve to cheat the People into 'their Miſeries, and the ſad effects of Rebellion; they ſhall never want thoſe who will *Enſlave them for* the ſake of Liberty; *undo them for the PUBLICK Good*, and *Deſtroy* them with the deſigns of *Reformation.*

Dr. Scot's *Serm. on Prov.* 24. 21. p. 30.

This is the Doctrine of our Church, expreſs'd in the Homily of Obedience, 'We may not in any wiſe withſtand 'violently, or Rebel againſt the 'Rulers, or make any Inſurrection, Sedition, or Tu-'mult, either by force of Arms, or otherwiſe, a-'gainſt the Anointed of the Lord, or any of his Officers, 'but we muſt in ſuch caſe (*that is, when we are com-'manded unlawful things*) patiently ſuffer all wrongs and 'Injuries referring the Judgment of our Caſe to God: And in this, as well as in her other Doctrines, her Government and diſcipline, 'our Church doth exact-'ly Copy after the Chriſtianity: if therefore we believe this Doctrine, our Conſciences will never conſent to our lifting our ſelves againſt the Government, but if inſtead of believing it, we openly Contradict

tradict and oppose it, as all those do, who pretend *Religion* for their Faction, 'we are so far *Dissenters* 'from the Church of *England*; for Conformity to a Church consists not meerly in frequenting its *Prayers* and *Sermons*, and *Sacraments*, and complying with its *Rites* and Discipline, but also in believing its *Doctrines*, or at least, not only opposing and contradicting them: But whosoever sides with a *Faction* 'against the *Government*, upon *pretence* of *Religion*, 'doth thereby openly Renounce the Doctrine of *Our* 'Church, and becomes a profest *Non-Conformist*, 'how conformable soever he may be in other particu-'lars.

Blessed be God, our Doctrine about Point of *Obedience* never gave yet jealousy to Kings, though of contrary Religion, is certainly the greatest interest and concernment of Mankind. Dearer it ought to be to us than our Lives, for infinitely more than our Lives are worth depend upon it. And of all the several Religions that are profess'd in the World, I am in my Conscience perswaded, that which is taught here, and maintain'd in our Church of *England* as by Law establisht, is most Divine, most Christian, most Apostolical and Primitive, most Pure and Rational, and for the continuance of this inestimable Blessing of God among us, and to our Posterity after us, (of which we have been for so long time through God's Infinite Patience to us possess'd) for this we ought surely to be very Zealous. No Love of God, or his own Soul, or his Country can be indifferent or careless about such a Matter,

Du Moulins *Vindic. of* &c. p. 17.

Dr. Calamys *Serm. on Rom.* 3. 8 p. 26.

But yet for all this, neither for the Preservation of this our most Holy and excellent Religion profess'd here in *England*, nor for the keeping out Popery it self, *(and then I have nam'd the worst thing that I can) will I ever, by the Grace of God, go beyond the Duty of my Calling, and that Station Divine Providence hath plac'd*

plac'd me in, nor will I ever lift up my Finger, open my Mouth againſt the Lords Anointed, whatever his Religion may be, *whether he hath any or none, whether he be a* NERO *or a* Conſtantine, whether he Rules by Law, or againſt it. We muſt not wiſh him evil, no not ſo much as in our ſecret thoughts, what ever hard things we ſuffer from him; we muſt on no Account diſturb or oppoſe his Government, or Reſiſt his Authority, and if we have not opportunity of flying from ſuch a Perſecution, (as I now ſuppoſe, becauſe I would put the worſt Caſe that can happen) or cannot by prudence decline it. *I know no other remedy the Goſpel allows us, but Meek and Patient Suffering for our Religion,* after the Example of our Bleſſed Lord and Maſter.

P. 30. 'This is the plain Loyal Doctrine of 'the Church of *England,* which her *Mi-* 'ſters have alway preach'd and defended, both againſt 'Papiſts and Fanaticks of all ſorts, and for which ſuch 'an Out cry and Clamour of late Years hath been raiſed 'againſt the Clergy. And when-ever we teach you 'otherwiſe, give me leave in God's Name to charge you 'all to forſake us, and deſpiſe us at as high a Rate as 'our greateſt Enemies now can do. Nay, if an Angel 'from Heaven preach any other Doctrine, let him be 'accurſed.

P. 31. 'Zeal for the beſt and the greateſt 'things in the World will not excuſe pri- 'vate Mens taking upon themſelves to re- 'form publick Abuſes, either againſt, or without the 'conſent of the ſupream Magiſtrate, nor will it 'hallow any Action for which we have not ſufficient 'Warrant and Authority from God's word.

P. Ib. 'Let us at all times adhere cloſe to our 'Duty, as well when it is againſt our 'Temporal Intereſt, as when it is for it. 'Let us inviolably in all things, obſerve the Com- 'mands of our Religion; not only propound good

'ends

'ends, but be as careful to chooſe Lawful means, and 'then God will in ſome Meaſure, think Himſelf as 'it were oblig'd to ſhew Mercy and Favour to 'us.

'If ever any thing provokes God Al- 'mighty to bring thoſe Calamities *upon* P. 32. '*us, which we ſeem ſo much to fear, it is* '*our uſing indirect and unlawful* means to prevent their 'falling upon us.

Could our common Enemy, I mean the *Papiſts*, have ever invented a more ſucceſsful *Ibid.* Plot for the bringing in of Popery? Could they have hop'd for a better Opportunity, or greater Advantages for the recommending and introducing their Religion, than what the abominable Wickedneſs and Treaſons of thoſe, who would be accounted the greateſt Zealots againſt it, have now given them? By doing of ſuch horrid Evils, under pretence that Good may come, Have they not given the greateſt Blow and Wound to the Reformed Religion, and done their beſt to bring that Miſery upon us, which they would be thought to have deſign'd to have kept off?

'The preſent Clergy of *England* 'take all occaſions of ſhewing their Calam. *Ser-* 'own Loyalty, and of encouraging the *mon on* Jo. 5. 'People to the like. They teach their 14. p. 14,15. 'Hearers to be Obedient, and perſuade 'them to Peace and Submiſſion, and this they had 'need ſpeak often, and loudly too, in ſuch turbulent 'and boiſterous Times, as we now live in. This is 'their great Fault and Crime, and *God grant that we* '*may all live under this diſgrace, and dye under this ig-* '*nominy.*

And in doing this, we preach no other Doctrine, but what our Saviour and Maſter did, than was taught by his Apoſtles, than was practiſed by the Primitive Chriſtians, and own'd in all Churches of Chriſt (never

(never contradicted, but by the Papists, in order to setting up of the Extravagant power of the Pope, and by some Sectaries since the Reformation, to make way for the pretended Kingdom of Christ here on Earth) but especially maintain'd and defended in our Church of *England*, viz. 'That Sovereign 'Princes are accountable to God alone, That actual 'Obedience is due to them in all things, Honest and 'Lawful; and that in no Case by Force or Violence 'we may resist them.

Nay, we affirm further with equal Truth, That we are bound to obey our *Lawful Superiors*, *not only* for fear of *Punishment*, not only *for Convenience, or out of any Temporal respect*; *but also out of Sense and Duty towards God, who hath enjoyn'd it under Pain of Damnation*; *who hath invested Sovereign Kings and Princes* with some of his own Divine Power and Authority.

Nay, it is not sufficient that we pay them all External Obedience, or outward Respect, but inward Veneration and Honour is *due to them (and that tho' themselves be vicious Persons, debauch'd in their lives, Heretical* in their Opinions, or Tyrannical in their Government) yet we must pay them such inward Respect and Reverence, as is due to their high Calling, and that great Place and Character, and Image they bear here on Earth.——

P. 15, 16.

In order to the preventing any Evils we fear, *or the obtaining* or continuing of the greatest good, *we must not use any unlawful or indirect means. This is the most pernicious and Damnable* Doctrine of *Rome*, tho' not always publickly own'd, yet greedily swallow'd amongst them; and prov'd sufficiently from their unwearied Practices; that in order to the Propagation of their Faith or Church, any thing, every thing, becomes Lawful; Killing and Massacring no Murther, Lying and Perjury no Sin or Injury. That so good and

P. 20.

Calam. *Serm.* Jo. 5. 14 p. 20.

and great an end will juſtify and ſanctify all Actions. Nay, have not we had *inſtances amongſt our ſelves in this Kingdom of the greateſt Wickedneſs and Villanies*, committed by pretended Proteſtants, for God's Glory, and for ſetting up the Goſpel and pure Worſhip of Chriſt, and indeed well meaning Men, but of great Paſſions, are not a little apt to this, *&c.*——

'*But Bleſſed be God, we have not ſo learn'd Chriſt.* '*We have not the* leaſt evil, tho' the greateſt good '*may come by it: Our Religion teacheth us to ſuffer* 'the greateſt evils, rather than forſake or renounce 'it, but not to do the leaſt evil, even for the maintenance of it; and it will be our great Glory and 'Commendation, nay I may add our Intereſt and 'ſafety too, to hold true to this Principle, neither to 'do, nor to conſent to any unwarranting Action, tho' 'it be to keep out Popery and Slavery, *no, not to ſave* 'Three Kingdoms; *and thus doing and ſuffering, we highly* 'manifeſt our full truſt in God, and ſignally entitle 'ourſelves to his Protection ——

The Intereſt of Religion it ſelf is not to be kept up, *or carry'd on by any Courſes or Practices that our Religion condemns. If we truſt God and the Goodneſs of our Cauſe we muſt be ſure to uſe no means in the defence of it, but ſuch as God doth allow; or can we ſhew greater diffidence in God, than when we think to ſerve him by our Iniquity and Unrighteouſneſs, by our Sins to advance his Glory, as if God were at a loſs in ſome Circumſtances to defend his tottering Church and People, unleſs we help'd him out a little, in a Time of great need,* by ſtretching our Conſciences, and venturing on ſomething that he hath *forbid? People muſt not take* care of God and his Cauſe againſt God's mind. P. 22.

Whenever therefore by Projects of our own *invention not approv'd by GOD, we contrive to avoid Perſecu-*

Perſecution, or preſerve the Proteſtant Religion—— *when we endeavour after Settlement and Salvation by any irregular indirect means, we put our ſelves out of God's way and Protection, renounce his Care and Providence over us; we declare that we are weary of waiting upon him, are afraid to depend on him, chuſe rather to ſtand upon our own Legs, or as* Saul *did, when God had forſaken him, run to the Devil for help and Advice. Nay, this is the moſt ready way to loſe, to betray our Religion, when we attempt to ſecure it by unlawful Means. God and his Church will ſtand, but when Men do overact it, and are over eager and buſy, they* Labour not *ſo much at God's Cauſe as their own.*

B. B. *on* 39. *Art.* p. 290. *There is no Cauſe of War more unjuſt than the Propagating the* TRUE *Religion, or the deſtroying a Falſe one. That is to be left to the Providence of* GOD, *who can change the Hearts of Men, and bring them to the knowleges of the Truth when he will. Ambition and the Deſire of Empire muſt never pretend to carry on God's Work. The Wrath of Man worketh not out the Righteouſneſs of* GOD. *And it were better barefacedly to own, that Men are ſet on by Carnal Motives, than to Profane Religion,* and the Name of GOD, by making it the Pretence.

March. *Sermon on* Jud. 19. 30. p. 13. It is the higheſt Degree of Helliſh Policy to make Religion a ſtalking Horſe for Rebellion; and intitle Heaven to all the Wickedneſs we deſign; you may never expect (ſaith our Bleſſed Martyr to his Son) leſs of Loyalty, Juſtice and Humanity, than from thoſe that ingage in RELIGIOUS Rebellion; their *Intereſt* is always made God's under the *Colour* of Piety, Ambitious, Policies do thus march not only with greateſt ſecurity, but alſo applauſe as to the popularities. You may hear from them *JACOB*'s Voice, but you ſhall find at laſt they have *Eſau*'s Hands, *&c.*

The

Among all the *Heresies* this Age has spawn'd, there is not one more contrary to the whole Design of *Religion*, and more *Destructive of MANKIND, than that Bloody opinion of DEFENDING RELIGION by ARMS and FORCIBLE RESISTANCE* upon the *Colour* of *Preserving RELIGION. The Wisdom* of this *Policy is EARTHLY, SENSUAL, DEVILISH, Savouring of a CARNAL, unmortified and unpatient Mind, that cannot* bear the *Cross*, nor trust the *Providence* of God. B. Burnet's *Vind. Ch. and St. of* Scotland *Pref.*

When our *Saviour* was accus'd to *Pilate* of being an Enemy to *Cæsar*, pretending to set up another Kingdom. He did in the plainest Style was possible condemn all Practices *against Government upon* PRETENCE of Religion, by *saying MY KINGDOM is not of this World*, &c. *This doth so expressly discharge all BUSLING and FIGHTING in the PRETENCE of RELIGION, that we must either set up for ANOTHER GOSPEL, or utterly reject what is so formally condemn'd by the Author* of This *we profess to believe.* *Id. Royal Martyr. p.* 22.

If we examine the Nature and Design of the Holy Religion *our Saviour deliver'd*, we *will find nothing more Diametrically opposite to all its Rules, than the DISTEMPER'D FURY of these Misguided Zealots, who being carried on by the Fierceness of their Ungovern'd Passions, have upon COLOURS of RELIGION, fill'd all the World with BLOOD and CONFUSION: Otherwise, both St. PAUL teach the Romans, tho' then groaning under the severest Rigours of Bondage and Tyranny.* And S. *Peter* 1 Pet. 2. 13. and Chap. 3. 14, 15. *&c.* *Id. p.* 23. Rom. 13.

I would have it consider'd, that either the *Laws* of *Nature, REASON, nor Justice will ever allow us endeavour to strip the LAWFUL Governors of any Places* (*either where we live*, or *where we are born* Subjects) of their *Mr.* Staino's *Serm. on* Rom. 13. 5. *p.* 14.

Authority, any more *than they will allow us to* take *away any other Mans Lawful Right, or just Poſſeſſions. For*, for that very Reaſon that *SUPREMACY* is a *Right that belongs to* Them, [Kings] *Subjection* is a Duty, that belongs to *Us* [Subjects].

I would have it *conſider'd, that the LAWS* of *Nature*, Reaſon and *Juſtice* are the *Laws* of *God*.

Id. p. 15. It is againſt the *Law* of *God*, and by Conſequence *againſt an Obligation of Conſcience, for any Man to deny to another his Due*; let that Duebecome his Due by what Means it will.

Obj. Whenever the Prince does not govern according to the *Laws* of *Juſtice*, and thoſe of the *Land*, there it is *Lawful* for *Us* to Reſiſt and Rebel againſt *Him*.

Anſw. *It is apparent* that ſuch *Doctrine* as *this is Seditious and Treaſonable* —— *and alſo Abſurd and Falſe, for if a Subject does Reſiſt his Prince, tho' it be in ſuch a Caſe in which it is ſuppos'd that his Prince does him an Injury*; *he does* by ſo doing ſtand Guilty of theſe *following Acts of Injuſtice.*

1*ſt*. He takes upon him to be Judge in his own Caſe. —— All *thoſe Wiſemen, who have made it their Buſineſs to inſtruct us in the LAWS of JUSTICE* and *EQUITY* have with one Conſent *condemn'd the Practice of it.*

2*dly. He that Reſiſts his Prince upon Suppoſition, that his Government is UNJUST, is SO himſelf*, for *by ſo doing he uſurps to himſelf* that Juriſdiction, which of Right belongs to another. —— If the Supream Prince when he does an Injury might be queſtion'd or puniſh'd for it *at the Subjects Tribunal, The* Prince *in ſuch a Caſe muſt* be as much a Subject, *as any Subject whatſoever*; *that is in deed* and *truth there would be NO PRINCE nor NO Subject*, and by Conſequence no *Government, and ſo that great Ordinance of God*, would preſently be cancell'd throughout the World.

Id. p. 18.

Id. p. 20.

3*dly*,

3*dly*. He that Reſiſts the Prince upon Suppoſition that his Government is *Unjuſt*, is ſo himſelf——— in that he invades the Rights of every Subject, under ſuch Princes Dominions and Government. --*In ſhort*.

If the Rebel, notwithſtanding the Injuries of his Prince be *Unjuſt*, be- *Id. p.* 22. cauſe he undertakes to judge his own Cauſe himſelf: If he be *Unjuſt* becauſe he Uſurps to himſelf a Juriſdiction over his Superiour, that is, his Prince: If he be unjuſt, in that, he invades the Rights of all Honeſt and Peaceable *Subjects*; *and if INJUSTICE (be it of what kind it will) be a Breach of GODS LAW, and by Conſequence a Breach made upon the Obligations of Conſcience*, then let him make what Pretences he will, and Colour his Black Deeds with fair Shews and plauſible Deſigns; and (which is yet a great deal more) let thoſe Deſigns and Pretences be (which yet they very rarely, or never are) true; yet when all is done, *Till he can make it appear that it is lawful for him to do Evil, that good may come of it, he will never be able to vindicate himſelf from the* Violation *of GODS LAW, nor of the Obligations of Juſtice and Conſcience; and therefore notwithſtanding the Injuries of the PRINCE, he muſt ſtand a Convict Criminal*, and his *Rebellion* will be a *Damnable* Sin.

1*ſt*. Ought we to be Subject for *Conſcience* ſake, and is our Obligation to Subjection bound upon us by the Hand of *God* himſelf? Then *we may very fairly infer, that both the Doctrine and Practice of Reſiſtance comes from the Devil.* ——— *If that may truly be* accounted a *Deviliſh Sin, which* oppoſes *God's declared Will with Reſolution and Impudence*; *then, becauſe Rebellion againſt a lawful Prince* does ſo, *we may well reckon it to come from the DEVIL.* *Id. p.* 24.

If *Rebellion* be always forg'd by the *Devils-Agents, and by the Devils-Tools*, we may ——— conclude *that it comes from Hell.*

2*ly*. If we are bound in CONSCIENCE to be Subject to the Higher Powers, *and if ſuch Obligation comes only from GOD, then we do infer, That no Lawful Authority can be founded in meer outward*

Force.——For tho' it may upon the account of our *Intereſt* engage us to a *Complyance* yet it will never be able upon the account of our *Conſciences* to engage us to an *Obedience.* For if *meer Power* can inſtate a Man in a *juſt Title* to the *Supremacy*, then it will follow, that whoever has *Power enough* to *Invade* the *Throne*, has *Right enough* to *Poſſeſs* it; *and his Uſurpation will therefore become Lawful, becauſe his Strength has made it poſſible; and ſo at length the Robbers* SWORD *and* PISTOL *will come to be the only Standard of* JUSTICE, *all other Power muſt be cancell'd, and we muſt come at laſt to make the* POWER *of doing* WRONG *to be the only meaſure of* EQUITY *and Right.* All theſe things are *at leaſt true, when there is any Perſon in being, to whom the* TITLE *or Succeſſion* of the Supremacy does belong.——And therefore that great Argument, which was brought to Vindicate the *Uſurpation* of the *Succeſsful Rebells* in *the Late Wars*, *namely that the People were not BOUND to adhere to their PRINCE, when the Prince was diſabled to defend the PEOPLE, ſuppoſes no other Obligation upon Subjects than meer INTEREST; and ſo Evacuates* and makes Null all Obligations of Conſcience.

Id. p. 28.

Tho' Oppreſſion makes a wiſe Man Mad, yet no Provocation can warrant a Chriſtian Subject to be a *Rebel.*

Warwick of *Government p.* 24.

Tho' Governours may ſometimes happen to be *WICKED and UNGODLY Men, yet the Government ſtill is Sacred, it is not for Subjects to call their Soveraigns to an account. It is our Duty to Study and Pray for the Peace and Safety, and to acquieſce in the Rules and Determinations thereof, chooſing rather to Suffer under it; than diſturb the* PEACE of it; and if, either thro' the *Ignorance* or *Inadvertency* of thoſe in *AUTHORITY, there happen any Male Adminiſtration in the Government, it is not the* GOVERNED, *but the* GOVERNOURS that ſtand *accountable* to *God* for it.

Vindic. Ch. Engl. from Schiſm p. 10.

Ob

Ob. Does God truſt his Authority in the Hands of *Evil Kings?*

Anſ. So the Scripture tells us; for the AUTHORITY is ſtill from GOD, tho' it be placed in the Hands of SINFUL Men, and looſeth not its ESSENCE, by the Acceſſion of PERSONAL Miſcarriages: For theſe he muſt ſtand or fall only to his OWN Maſter, and there is no *Tribunal* upon Earth can Judge him. Dr. *Doves* Sermon *Tit.* 3. 1. p. 18.

The Sins of the *Perſon* do not deſtroy the *Power* [of a King] *but that it hath the ſame Original, for he that Ordained DAVID did alſo ſet up SAUL; SOLOMON and JEROBOAM, EZEKIAS and AHAB, MANASSES and JOSIAS, NERO and CONSTANTINE, JULIAN and THEODOSIUS,* alternately *Good and Bad, and he that hath ſaid in one place, By me Kings Reign,* Prov. 8. 15. *hath ſaid alſo in another, I gave 'em a King in mine Anger* Hoſea 13. 11. *And from ELIHU in JOB, we gather, That he makes an Hypocrite to Reign, when he* is minded to Scourge a ſinful People *Job* 34. 30. The *Authority* therefore of both [*Good* and *Bad*] is *immediately* from *God*, to whom *alone* they are Subject, and to *Him* they muſt give an Account, how they uſe or abuſe *His Authority*; But all the reſt are Subject, next under God, to them, and muſt give an Account to both, how they *diſcharge this Duty of Obedience.*

'Tis a Sin next to Blaſphemy to ſpeak Evil of Dignities, a degree of Profaneneſs to diſobey them and intolerable *INIQUITY to REBEL againſt them.* *Id.* p. 25.

When Subjects have drawn the Sword againſt their Soveraign, they uſually throw away the Scabbard, and 'tis rare, very rare to find a *Relenting Rebel.*

" If we be maligned both by *Papiſts*
" *and Others, for adhering moſt firmly* *Id.* p. 30.
" to the Government, it ought to be
" our *Joy* as it is our *Glory*; for *This* Church was
" always famous for Her *Untainted Fidelity* and
" *Loyalty* to the *Crown.*

A. B. Sharp's *Serm. on Tit.* 3. 1. *p.* 19.

That there is such a *Submission* due from all Subjects to the Supream Authority of the Place where they live, as shall tye up their Hands from Opposing or Resisting it by Force, is evident from the Nature and Ends of *Political* Society. And I dare say, there is not that Country upon Earth, let the Form of their Government be what it will, (*Absolute* Monarchy, *Legal* Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Commonwealth) where this is not a part of the Constitution. Subjects must obey passively where they cannot obey *actively*: Otherwise the Government would be precarious, and the Publick Peace at the Mercy of every Malecontent, and a Door would be set open to all the Insurrections, Rebellions and Treasons in the World.

Nor is this only a *State* Doctrine, but the Doctrine also of *Jesus Christ*, and that a *necessary*, *indispensable* one too; as sufficiently appears from those famous Words of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. *Let every Soul* (saith he) *be subject to the higher Powers*, &c. So that so long as this Text stands in our Bibles, the Doctrine of *Non resistance*, or *passive Obedience*, must be of Obligation to all Christians.

Id. p. 22.

By all the Laws of this Land, the *Person* of the *KING* is Sacred and inviolable; and that to attempt his *Life* in *any way*, or upon *any Pretence*, always was and is *High Treason*.

Warwick *of Govern.* p. 17.

God required Non-resistance in order to Subjects own good, for Anarchy was worse than Tyranny.

Scots *Sermon*, Rom. 13. 1. *p.* 8.

When the Commands of our Prince do interfere with the Commands of God, it is an undoubted Rule that we must obey God rather than Man; but then at the same time that our Allegiance to the Throne of Heaven obliges us to refuse *active* Obedience to our Temporal Prince, it indispensably obliges us to render *passive*, and not to use any Violence against him, tho' it be in the Defence of our Estates

Eſtates, or Liberties, or Lives, or which ought to be dearer than all our Religion.

Whenever we are reduced to that extremity as that we cannot obey our Prince without Diſobeying God, we have no other Remedy, but to diſcharge our Duty courageouſly and faithfully to God, and meekly and quietly to ſubmit to the unjuſt Perſecutions of our Prince, referring our Cauſe to that Sovereign Tribunal before which Princes and Peaſants muſt one Day give an Account together for every unjuſt and unrighteous Action: And tho' this may ſeem a hard Chapter to thoſe who conſider only one ſide of the Caſe, yet there is nothing more apparent than that the Liberty of reſiſting Princes would prove a far greater Miſchief to the World, than all the Cruelties and Oppreſſions of the moſt Barbarous Tyrants. *Id. p.* 10.

Our Loyalty is not only the honeſteſt but the wiſeſt Proviſion we can make for the Safety of our Religion, becauſe hereby we recommend it to Princes as the ſafeſt Guard of their Thrones, and the ſureſt Defence of their Authority, as that which will ſecure and facilitate their Government, and tye their Subjects to them by their Hearts and Conſciences, and when by good Experience they are convinc'd of this, they cannot be Enemies to it, without being Enemies to themſelves, and arming their Power againſt their own Authority. *P.* 28.

To talk of a Supream Power, which is not unaccountable and irreſiſtable is Nonſenſe, for whatſoever Power is liable to be call'd to account or reſiſted, hath a Power that is Superior to it, and ſo cannot be Supream. *P.* 13.

There is no doubt but that the *Title* to the *Sword* is *of Right, lodg'd in the Princes Power; and there can be as little doubt that the Subject can acquire no Right from the Injuſtice of the Prince to force it thence.* *Mr.* Stoane's *Sermon*, Rom. 13. 5. *p.* 18.

If we take that for granted, *which no Man was ever yet ſo ſteel'd as to deny, that a Subjection is due to* thoſe that have a *juſt* and *lawful* Power over us, *then it will be no hard Matter* —— *to determine*, to whom it is, that our *Subjection is due.*

Id. p. 3.

Id. ibid. *It is agreed on all Hands, that whereſoever there is a Right in the Superiority, there Obedience in Inferiours becomes a Duty, and that where the Supremacy* is *juſt*, there Subjection is *neceſſary.*

Dr. Tillotſ. Serm. on Prov. 14. 34. He that hath entertain'd the true *Principles of Chriſtianity* is *not to be tempted from his Obedience and Subjection, by any Worldly Conſiderations, becauſe he believes that whoſoever Reſiſteth Authority reſiſts the Ordinance of God; and that they who reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.*

Burnets *Reflex.* on *Oxf. Theſ. p.* 61. 'The *Civil Supremacy that we aſcribe to our Princes, is founded on the Laws of God, on the Rules of Human Society, on the Laws of* Eng-land, and the *Practice* of the *Church* for many Ages.

Id. Royal Martyr. p. 17. Higher Powers being *Deputed* by *God*, muſt indeed render to *Him a ſevere* Account of their Adminiſtration, *But not to Others.*

Id. p. 14. *We are either bound to obey the Sovereign* by ſome Obligation that the *Law* of *God* brings on us, or not; if not, then all *Sacredneſs* of *Authority* is gone, and the *Prince* has nothing but *Force* to maintain his *Right*, and every *Uſurper* that maſters him ſhall have a *better Right*, by how much more Power he has to ſtrengthen his ambitious Pretenſions.

Id. p. 5. He were by the Confeſſion of all, Highly Criminal, who ſhould queſtion the Kings Title to the Crown; or offer to void his Right; and yet this is the Crime of thoſe inſulting Hectors [the Atheiſts] for if there be no God, then

then the *Sacred* and Royal Reputation of *Soveraign Power, which Princes derive from Him, who is the* ORIGINAL *of it, by whom Kings Reign, is out of Doors: This levels the* PRINCE *with the* SUBJECT, *and gives the* USURPER *as good a* TITLE *as the Lawful* SOVERAIGN *can them.*

Conſcience fixing our Subjection on the unſhaken Baſis of our Faith and Confidence in *God*, binds us by the ſtrongeſt Tyes to our Duty. Id. p. 24.

It *was the Aſtoniſhment of the World* to ſee ſuch Numbers of all *Ages, Sexes* and *Quality's* [in the *Primitive Church*] *with Alacrity and Cheerfulneſs of Submiſſion, to offer up their Lives for the Faith; and neither the Cruelty of their unrelenting Perſecutours, nor the continued Tract of their Miſeries, which did not end but with their Days, prevail'd on them either to Renounce the Faith, or do that which is next degree to it, Throw off the Croſs, and betake themſelves to Seditious Practices for their Preſervation, but continu'd Stedfaſt both in their* Faith and Patience, by which they Inherited the Promiſes. Id. p. 24.

In the laſt Perſecution, which continu'd about 20 *Years, we find the Martyrs of one Province* [Ægypt] *reckon'd to be between* 8 *and* 900000, and yet no *Tumults* were raiſed againſt *all this* TYRANNY *and Injuſtice. Neither did the ſubtle attempts of* JULIAN *the Apoſtate, nor the open Perſecutions of ſome* Arian *Emperours, who did with great Violence Perſecute the Orthodox, occaſion any Seditious Combinations againſt Authority. Theſe are the great Precedents this Holy Doctrine of the Croſs hath in the* FIRST *and* PUREST *Ages, and tho' Religion ſuffer'd great decays in the Succeſſion of many Ages, yet for the firſt ten Centuries no Father or Doctor of the* CHURCH, *nor any* ASSEMBLY *of Church Men, did ever* TEACH, MAINTAIN, *or* JUSTIFY any *Rebellious* or *Seditious Doctrines*, or *Practices.* Id. p. 25.

Dr. Sherl. *Sermon Pſ.* 18. 50. *p.* 20.

A true Zeal for Religion, is nothing more nor leſs, than ſuch a hearty love for it, as make us very diligent in the Practice of it our ſelves, and contented, if God ſees it fit, to lay down our Lives for it, and very induſtrious to promote the Knowlege and Practice of Religion in the World by all *Lawful* and *Prudent* Means. A true Chriſtian Zeal will not ſuffer us to tranſgreſs the ſtrict bounds of our *Duty* to *God*, or of our *Duty* to *Men*, *eſpecially* to *Kings* and *Princes*, whatever *Flattering Proſpect* of *Advantage* it may give. To *Lye* to *Forſwear* our ſelves, to *Hate* and *Revile* each other, to *Reproach* and *Libel* our *Governours* in *Church* and *State*; to *Stir up*, or *Countenance* with the leaſt thought, any *Plots*, *Seditions*, or *Rebellions* againſt the *King*, is not a *Zeal* for *God*, nor for *Religion*; for *this Wiſdom is not from above*, *but is Earthly*, *Senſual and Deviliſh*: *For where Strife and Contention is*, *there is Confuſion*, *and every Evil Work.*

Id. p. 13.

Chriſtian Religion is the greateſt ſecurity of Government, both in its *Precepts* and *Examples*; it commands *every Soul* to be Subject to the *Higher Powers*, and threatens *Eternal Damnation* againſt *Rebells*.——It requires us to *Obey* our *Superiours* in all *Lawful* Things, and quietly to *Submit* and *Suffer*, when we cannot *Obey*. And the Bleſſed *Jeſus* who was the *Author* of our *Religion* and our great *Pattern* and *Example*, did himſelf Practice the Laws, which he gave to us. He Lived in Obedience to the Civil Powers.——Tho' he was a King, yet he was not *Cæſars* Rival; for his Kingdom was not of *this* World, and therefore he did not Arm his Subjects to Fight for Him, as he told *Pilate*——Chriſtianity was planted in the World by no other Arts but the Fooliſhneſs of Preaching, by Preaching that Abſurd and Ridiculous Doctrine, as the World then accounted it, of a Crucifyed Jeſus; and it defended it ſelf only by a Reſolute and Patient Suffering for the Name of Chriſt. This is the true Temper and Spirit of Chriſtianity,

anity. *Under the most Barbarous and Persecuting Emperours, no Christian ever Suffered as a Rebel.*

How did the Murther of *Charles* the *1st* open the Mouths of the Adversaries of our Religion [Papists] (whom we had *justly* charg'd for their *Seditions* and *Treasonable* Doctrines) to insult over us? But without all Cause: For all the Reasons pretended, were but upon the matter, the same with those their "Doctors have Publish'd, allowing but a small "Change; so those of our *True* and *Soundly Reform'd* "*Church* did abominate, so foul a Crime, with all "possible Horrour; and, as was most just, did both "in Publick and Private *declare* against it; and "with a generous and truly Christian Constancy, "endur'd *Sequestrations*, *Imprisonments*, and *every* "*thing* which that *Insulting Power* put them to, rather "than comply with so *vile an Action*, *and its vile* "*Authors.*

"It is the Peculiar glory of the "*Church* of *England*, *that She above* "*all others*, *Principles Her Children in* "*Obedience to Superiours*, *and* most Sup- "ports the Ends, and Interest of "Government, which had so *visible an effect in the Late unhappy Revolutions* that the *Royal Martyr*, (*who fell a Sacrifice to the misguided Zeal of his Rebellious Subjects*,) made it his Observation, "That none forfeited their Duty to "Him, who had not *first deserted their Obedience to* "*the Church*; nor can you any way more remarka- "bly approve your selves to be Orthodox in your "*Religion*, and *good Sons of the Church*, *than if you* "*are Loyal* in your *Principles*, and good *Subjects* to "the *King*." Bish. Fells *Serm. to the Sons of Cler.* *King* Charles *the 1st true Observation.*

When a Rebellion was design'd against King *Charles* the *1st*, the Contrivers of it found it necessary, first to seduce Men from the *Church* of *England*, before they could engage them in so wicked an Action. *Relig. and Loyalty p.* 50.

If

If the *Church* of *England* did make Worldly *Intereſt* the ſole meaſure of her Actions, as *Papiſts* and *Sectaries* generally do, they would never conſider what was *Honeſt* but only what was *Expedient*, and never ſtick at *Ill means* to accompliſh that which they account *Good Ends*. 'Tis well known the Papiſts in *France* renounc'd *Hen.* 4. tho' his Title were indiſputable, becauſe he was not of *their Religion*. And thoſe of *England* us'd all means to exclude King *James* from his Juſt Right to this Crown, upon the *ſame grounds*.

Id. p. 8.

And whatever *Papiſts* have done for advancing *their pretended Catholick Church*, *Sectaries* have done, to ſet up *their Good Old Cauſe*; yea both ſides Glory'd in theſe Acts, meerly becauſe they were *Expedient*, and ſerv'd to advance their *Intereſts*. "But "we of this *Church* are perhaps *the only Chriſtians* "*ſince the Primitive Ages, who never diſpens'd with* "*our Loyalty to ſerve our Worldly Ends, and if this* "*do not commend our Policy, I am ſure it declares* "*our Honeſty and Integrity, and muſt needs recom-* "*mend us to all Good Men, as thoſe who prefer* "*our* Duty *and our* Conſcience before all *Earthly* "*Advantages*.

Warwick's *Memoirs Ch.* 1*ſt p.* 205.

"Whenever, for our Judgment, "this *Church* [of *England*] ſhall be "overthrown, (which God avert) the "ſame [Chriſtian] Principles will "make thoſe Men, or their Sons, as "forward to Suffer for their Religion, as ever they "were to ſerve and ſuffer with this Good Prince "[King *Charles the* 1*ſt*] *for this Church* (*or the Per-* "*ſons of it*) ſerves Princes in order to their own "ſerving God: (which I obſerve not other Sects "*to do, but for Secular* Ends) *and therefore I am* "*aſſur'd, they will quit their Intereſt* in this World rather than thoſe *Heavenly Truths, which they have ſuckt* from the Breaſt of this good and Nurſing Mother, the Church of *England*; and ſuffer by their Princes,

Princes, when their ways are ſuch, as removes from them the Occaſion of Suffering *for* them.

The Biſhop of *London-Derry* [Dr. *Bramhal*] convey'd himſelf beyond the Seas, and was not there unmindful of the Kings intereſt *&c.*——As for divers others [of the Biſhops] ſome were Impriſon'd, and others were, by reaſon of Age; not ſo apt for Foreign Travel: and at Home they promoted the Cauſe of their Soveraign, which, if all Zealous Loyaliſts had withdrawn themſelves, would, by degrees, have Dyed away: and becauſe they refuſed the Oaths impos'd at the Peril of their Lives, and of their Fortunes (which, tho' were but little, were their all) they therefore are not to be judged Treacherous in undermining the Uſurp'd Government, or Diſloyal to the King, in enjoying Protection under *Oliver*, whom they neither Arm'd, nor Own'd in Power: Neither do you [Mr. *Hobbes*] here, take notice of the great number of Loyal Prieſts, of which, ſome Fled beyond the Seas, and others, ſtaying in the Land, were, for the ſake of their *Allegiance* expoſed to as great dangers as the rougheſt Sea could have threatned them with: but it is the manner of ſome Men, to wound true Royalty and Religion thro' the ſides of Eccleſiaſtical Officers. Hobbs's *Creed Exam. p.* 162.

It is not for you [Mr. *Hobbes*] to pretend to *Loyalty*, who place *Right* in *Force*, and teach the People to aſſiſt the *Uſurper*, with *active* Complyance againſt a *Diſpoſſeſs'd* Prince. *Id. p.* 166.

I ſay then again (and I neither Revile nor Slander you unleſs it can be done by the Repetition of the truth) that you give Encouragement to *Uſurpers*; and alſo when Civil diſorders are on Foot (as it happens too frequently in all States) you, hereby move ſuch People as are yet on the ſide of their *Lawful Prince*, whoſe *Id.* 167.

whose Affairs they see *declining* straitway to adjoyn themselves to the *more Prosperous Party*, and to help to overturn those Thrones of Soveraignty, at which, a while before, they prostrated themselves: For in your way of Reasoning, they have Right to preserve or Right themselves by any Course of Means, and can be best protected by the *prevailing side*, which because it hath more degrees of *Growing Power*, has, it seems, therefore more of *Right*.

Id. p. 162. The *Romanists* and your self [Mr. *Hobbes*] agree too well in owning of *Usurpers* and Measuring *Right* by the length of the *Sword*: and therefore when such Politicians say, *That Olivers Titles and Actions were Equally unjust*, they are to be understood in such a Sense, as when we say of a very Dunce, that he is equally a Logician and a Grammarian, that is in truth neither.

Id. p. 160. Mr. *White* that Part-boil'd *Romanist* declar'd in *English*.——*That a Dispossest Prince ought neither to be desired, nor to endeavour to return, if the People think themselves to be* well, *and their* Trade *and* Employment *be undisturbed.* And he adds also; "who can "Answer they shall be *better* by the return of the "*Dispossess'd* Party? Surely in common presumption, the *Gainer* is like to defend them better than "he who lost it. certainly for this Sentence, at such a time [1655] Publish'd to this Nation, if for no other cause, it ought to be *Burnt* in *England* &c.

Id. p. 135. Whence doth it come to pass, that *Temporal self interest* is laid by you as the Foundation Stone of the *Law* of *Nature* in such sort, that nothing is *unlawful*, which conduceth to such *Preservation.* For 'tis commonly taught amongst us, that many things are Condemned by the right of Reason and that *we ought not to do Evil*

that

that Good may come on't, but prefer the Love of *God* and *Nature* before private *Utility*; *it being the trueſt* INTEREST *to loſe the preſent ſecular Advantage, for the future recompence of ſuch, as with Peril, obey God.*

Let us [of the Church of *England*] *ſhew to the World, that we take not* up *nor maintain our RELIGION upon INTEREST, but found it on ſure and unmoveable Foundations, which, being the ſame always, will* ever *oblige us* to the SAME DUTIES *and* PRACTICES. Let us ſtudy to empty our ſelves of all big, ſelf-conceiting *Thoughts, of all hot and inflam'd PASSIONS and APPETITES, of* all unruly *and unbounded Deſires, of all Levity and Unſtaidneſs of MIND, that with humble HEARTS, calm MINDS, contented Spirits, and ſteady THOUGHTS, every one may follow the Duties of his Station, and contain himſelf within as becomes a* Chriſtian, *Paying inwardly in our very* Thoughts, *that Reverence we owe the HIGHER POWERS, and offering up to God the conſtant Tribute of our Prayers for* them; Conſidering they are *Gods Vice-Gerents, and by his own Warrant are called GODS: And if the Conduct* of *Affairs do not ſuit our Wiſhes, or Deſires, yet for all that we are to Truſt and Depend on Gods Providence, not daring once to think of Attempting againſt the LORDS ANOINTED, nor to engage in Courſes that* may bring *on ſo much Miſchief and Confuſion; but let us* ever *ſet before our Eyes our Bleſſed Saviour, who endured the Croſs, and deſpis'd the Shame, who when he was revil'd revil'd not again, and when He ſuffered He threatned not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth Righteouſly:* And let us alſo conſider that Cloud of Witneſſes that follow'd him; That ſo *we may* run with Patience the race that is ſet before us, and not look to, or imitate the LATTER PRACTICES *of ſome Diſtemper'd*

B. Burnets *R. Martyr. p.*

ſtemper'd and *Degenerated Chriſtians. And then we ſhall be an Honour to our Profeſſion, and give a Credit to that Church* wherein we were Born, Baptiz'd and inſtructed; *when* we *ſhew that we are SUBJECT not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.*

Diſcourſe about Conſcience, p. 32.

Conſcience ought not to plead for, or encourage the Practice of any *Sin*, namely, which appears to be ſo by the *Light of Nature*, as well as *Religion, and therefore* all *TREASONS* and *REBELLIONS, MURDERS* and *CONSPIRACIES, SACRILEGE* and *PERJURY are great Sins, and ſuch as are diſcern'd to be ſo by Natural Light; and therefore* can never become Otherwiſe, however they may be *Palliated* or *Pleaded* for: *Never* think *that the Plea* of *CONSCIENCE, RELIGION* or *REFORMATION* can *juſtify a WICKED or IMMORAL ACTION, ſuch as REBELLION and PERJURY*, which *all Mankind* doth *Naturally Acknowlege* and Condemn *for ſuch.*

If CONSCIENCE and conſequently CHRISTIANITY, is the Refuge of TREASON, and Sanctuary of *Rebellion*, if the Holy *Jeſus* came, (as one *would think by ſome Mens Practices he did*) *to SANCTIFY Murder*, and *Canonize* thoſe Men *whoſe Hands are full of Blood, to Licenſe Sacrilege and SEDITION, or LEGITIMATE the moſt Lewd* and *Infamous Impieties, I ſhould chooſe rather to be the Diſciple of Honeſt SOCRATES, and Content my ſelf to be Virtuous at the rate of a HEATHEN*, than according to the Meaſures of *ſuch a Religion.*

" But

'But, Blessed be God, we know better things, and 'have been taught quite otherwise, we have not thus 'learnt *Christ*, his Religion is *Pure* Religion and *Un-'defiled*; His *Commands* are *Holy*, *Just* and *Good*; 'He countenanceth *no sort of Immorality*, but encou-'rageth the *Universal* Practice of all Virtue. It 'threatens *Damnation* to such as *Resist Authority*, 'which is an *Ordinance of God*, and affirms the *Damna-'tion* of those Men to be *Just*; *who think to do Evil 'that Good may come of it*, Rom. 3. 8.

'The *Protestant* Church of *England* is 'not only better in all other Accounts, 'but doth *hold*, *teach* and *practise* Loy-'alty above all others in the World; the Divines 'thereof generally holding *Monarchy* to be of *Divine 'Right*, and *Allegiance* to be an Obligation on the 'Conscience and *Indispensible*, *because the King's POWER 'is from God, to whom Kings only are accountable*; But the *Papists* teach, That Kings derive their *Power* from the *People* —— Our Clergy Write for the Right of 'Kings, yea, and their Actions, being *always Loyal*, 'do justify they do sincerely *believe* as they *teach*.

Religion and Loyalty, p. 56.

'Our Church hath this peculiar ad-'vantage above several Professions that 'we know in the World, that it ac-'knowledgeth a due and just Subordi-'nation to the *Civil Authority*, and 'hath always been *untainted* in its *Loyalty*.

Dr. Tillotson's *Serm. on* 1 Cor. 3. 15. p. 36.

It is to be wished that some, as well Divines as Lawyers, who pretend to be of the Communion of the Church of *England*, had not given too just occasion for the severe reflections that follow.

Historical Observat. on the Reigns of Ed. 1, 2, 3. Ric. 2. *by a Person of Honour.*

'The *Lawyers* can find out Legal Methods for the People to Deprive their Kings of Sovereign-'ty; and the *Divines* Consecrate their Mighty Power in calling their Voice [*vox Populi*] a Divine Election [*vox Dei*]. p. 81.

'The Professors of the Divine and Humane 'Laws have been commonly zealously ready p. 175.

'to find WRESTED LAW, and DIVINE NE-
'CESSITY, *to ratify the* Succeſs *of the* Ambitious.

p. 175. '*In the Reigns of* Unfortunate Princes,
'there never want Temporal and Spiritual
'Gownmen, that contribute to all their Er-
'rors in their unfortunate CONDITIONS; and on
'their Adverſities tranſplant their ZEAL into Sun-
'ſhine.

p. 178. 'The baſe minds of MEN hurry them
'to ASSIST the SUCCESSFUL, and help
'to deſtroy the Unfortunate; led always
'more by FEAR and INTEREST, than by RESO-
'LUTION and VIRTUE.

Id. p. 70. *K.* Edw. 2. The Biſhop of *Hereford* (in that double Rebellion of the Queen againſt her Huſband) the Pulpit being as ready to *ſpeak* as execrably as others to *act*, took for his Text, *My Head aketh*; raiſing this revengeful and impious Doctrine upon it, *That a Sick Head was to be* TAKEN *off*; and in the Revolution that attended this unhappy King [*Ed.* 2.] and *Richard* the 2d, the CLERGY were always ready to SANCTIFY, and the *Lawyers* to *make* Rebellion *Lawful*.

Bp. Sanderſon's *Serm. fol. p.* 490. *the* 9 *ad Aulam.* 'It is our great Comfort (bleſſed be
'God for it) That the DOCTRINE
'eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*,
'(I mean the *Publick Doctrine*, for that
'is it we are to hold us to, paſſing by
'private opinions) I ſay the Publick
'Doctrine of our Church is ſuch, as is not juſtly charge
'able with any IMPIETY, contrarious to any
'*part of that* Duty we owe either to GOD or MAN.
'Oh that our CONVERSATIONS were as free from
'Exception, as our RELIGION is! Oh that we
'were ſufficiently careful to preſerve the Honour and
'Luſtre of the TRUTH we profeſs by the correſpon-
'dency of our Lives and Actions thereunto.

And upon this point we dare boldly *joyn Iſſue* with our clamorous Adverſaries on either hand, *Papiſts* I mean, and *Diſciplinarians*, who do both ſo loudly (but unjuſtly) accuſe us and our *Religion*; *they*, *as Carnal and Licentious*; theſe, as *Popiſh* and *Superſti-*

tious

tious. As *Elijah* said once to the *Baalites*, That *God that ANSWERS BY FIRE, LET HIM BE GOD*, 1 *Kings* 18. 24. So we may say to either of both: And when we have said it, not fear to put it to a fair trial; 'That Church whose *Doctrine*, *Confession* and *Worship* is 'most according to *Godliness*, *let that be the* 'CHURCH. As for our Accusers, if there were no 'more to be instanced in *but that* one Cursed Position 'alone, *wherein* (notwithstanding their disagree-'ments otherwise) they both consent, That Lawful 'Sovereigns may be by their Subjects resisted, and 'Arms taken up against them, for the Cause of Re-'ligion: it were enough to make good the Challenge 'against them both. Which is such a notorious piece 'of UNGODLINESS, as no Man, that either fear-'eth God or the King, as he ought to do, can speak 'of, *or think of without detestation*; and is certainly '(if either St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*, those two great 'Apostles understood themselves) a branch rather of 'that other GREAT MYSTERY (2 *Thess.* 2.) the 'Mystery of *Iniquity*, *than* of the GREAT MYSTE-'RY here in the Text, [1 *Tim.* 3. 16.] the MYSTE-'RY OF GODLINESS. There is not that Point in 'Popery besides, (to my understanding) that makes 'it savour so strongly of *Antichrist*, as this one dan-'gerous and desperate point of *Jesuitism* doth.

The Established Religion of our Church——for Purity of Worship and Doctrine, for Antiquity of Discipline and Government, for Loyalty of Principles and Practice, outshines all the Churches in the World. *Scot's Sermon, Rom.* 13. 1. *p.* 34.

Whatever Men may imagine, it is demonstrable that *Factious Godliness* is a greater reproach and scandal to Religion than open profaneness and impiety. *p.* 25.

Nothing in the World can more indanger our Religion, than our making it a pretence for Rebellion.

What Villanies are there which the Pope and his Proselytes have stuck at committing for the propagation of their Religion? Such as exciting Subjects to *Dr.* Fowler's *Design of Christianity c.* 24. *p.* 240.

take *Arms* againſt their *Lawful Sovereigns*, to whom they are oblig'd in the Bonds of *moſt ſolemn Oaths*; Poiſoning and Stabbing Princes, the moſt barbarous Maſſacres that any Hiſtory can give account of. In ſhort, What Frauds and Perfidiouſneſs, what Treachery, what Impoſtures, what Perjuries, what Cruelties and horrid outrages have they thought too wicked to be undertaken and perſiſted in for the ſake of HOLY CHURCH.

But I would I could ſay that of all that are call'd Chriſtians the *Papiſts* only are liable to this charge; But, alas, it is too manifeſt to be denied, or yet diſſembled, that not a few of thoſe that profeſs enmity to Popery, are ſadly guilty, tho' not *Equally* with the *Papiſts*, in this particular. But there is nothing more certain than that for any of us to be Cruel and of a perſecuting Spirit; to be wrathful and furious, to backbite and ſlander, to be falſe and perfidious, to be ungovernable, rebellious or ſeditious, to be uncharitable, or in any kind whatſoever *unjuſt*, upon the account of *Religion* it ſelf, is moſt *inſufferable* and *inexcuſable*. For if it be Lawful to behave our ſelves after this manner upon *any account whatſoever*, Religion would be the moſt uſeleſs thing in the World; and if this were Lawful upon the account of Religion only, I will not ſtick to ſay that it would not be more *Uſeleſs* and *Unprofitable* than *Miſchievous* and *Hurtful*. Nor would the *Chriſtian Religion* it ſelf be worthy our profeſſion, if it would give us leave, upon *any deſign*, to allow our ſelves in the forementioned Immoralities, or in *any one whatever*.

And it appeareth from what hath been Diſcours'd, That the gratification of any of theſe affections [Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Envyings,] is ſo far from becoming Lawful or more warrantable by being yielded to for the ſake of it [Religion] that it is rendred the more wretchedly fooliſh and unaccountable by this means. For thus to do, is no other than to be *Irreligious* to promote *Religion*, to be *Unchriſtian* to do ſervice to *Chriſtianity*; and therefore to go the directeſt way to *Deſtroy* it, by the means we uſe for its *Preſervation*: And we do our par-

particular Opinions and Forms of Religion more miſchief in alienating the minds of others from them, than their moſt profeſs'd Adverſaries will be able to do by all their attempts againſt them, by ſuch wild and wicked expreſſions of Zeal for them. And laſtly, thus to do, is to oppoſe the intereſt of our *Religion* to that of our *Souls*; and to caſt *theſe* away in defence of *that*.

I verily believe, ſhould Men conſult the Devil himſelf, what courſe they were beſt to take to blaſt the honour of Religion, he could not direct them to a more effectual one, than under Sanctified pretences to turn Rebels to the Government, *&c.* Scot's *Sermon*, Rom. 13. 1. p. 23.

'*Now, Sir, if the* Church of ENGLAND, and 'Learnedeſt Lawyers and Divines, if the LAWS of 'the LAND, and the LAWS of GOD and NA-'TURE condemn PERJURY, REBELLION, and 'TREASON, as the blackeſt Crimes, and moſt 'damnable Sins; And if the Bleſſed Apoſtle St. *Paul* 'was in the right, when he declar'd, That *they that 'reſiſt the higher Powers* (becauſe they are the ORDI-'NANCE of God) *ſhall receive to themſelves damna-'tion*: And that their *Damnation* is juſt, who do Evil 'that Good may come of it; I would gladly know 'what Religion thoſe Men are of, who act directly 'contrary hereunto: Will they own they are of the 'Church of *England*, and that they may and ought 'to act for God, and Swear themſelves to the Devil 'for his ſake? That they may Damn themſelves for 'the Good of the *Church*, and Renounce the Princi-'ples of the CHRISTIAN, for the Preſervation of 'the PROTESTANT Religion? That they may 'under the pretence of Reforming Mens manners, 'break the Commandments of *God*, and *Eſtabliſht 'Laws of the Church and State*? If they will, I muſt, 'with the Patriarch *Jacob*, ſay, *O my Soul, come not 'thou into their ſecret; unto their Aſſembly mine Honour 'be not thou united.* I cannot, I confeſs, pretend to 'ſuch mighty concern for Religion; ſuch Zeal is too 'wonderful for me, I cannot attain unto it. I have

'read

'read indeed that the way to Heaven is by Hell Gates;
'but I never yet read that they, that will be sav'd,
'must first go down to HELL and become the Dis-
'ciples of SATAN, or that the way to be a SAINT
'in HEAVEN is to be a DEVIL, that is, a TRAI-
'TOUR on EARTH. They that think so, may, if
'they please, make the Experiment, but I fear they
'will find themselves wofully mistaken in the end;
'and instead of a Reward for such their FANATI-
'CAL and ANTICHRISTIAN works of Supereroga-
'gation, will, if they dare plead them at the Day of
'Judgment, be answered with a *Who has requir'd these*
'*things at your hands?* And receive that Sentence,
'*Depart from me*, &c. *all ye workers of Iniquity.*

But that they may not have this dreadful Sentence pronounced against them, *I beseech Almighty God, the Father of Mercies, to give them True Repentance for all their Rebellious PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES, to forgive them all their Sins, Negligences, and Ignorances; and to endue them with the Grace of his Holy Spirit, that they may amend their Lives, and Reform their Manners according to his Holy Word; and finally by his Mercy obtain Everlasting Life through Jesus Christ our Lord.* Amen.

Then spake Jesus to the Multitude and to his Disciples, saying, *The Scribes and Pharises sit in Moses seat; All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their Works, for they say and do not*, Matt. 23. 1, 2, 3.

Unto the ungodly said God, *Why dost thou preach my Laws, and takest my Covenant in thy mouth;*

Whereas thou hatest to be reformed, and hast cast my words behind thee?

When thou sawest a Thief thou consentedst unto him, &c. *Psal.* 50. 16, 17, 18.

Thou which teachest another, teachest thou not thy self? thou that preachest a Man should not steal, dost thou steal?

Thou that makest thy boast of the Law, through breaking of the Law, dishonourest thou God?

For

For the name of God is blaſphem'd among the Gentiles through you, Rom. 2. 21, 23.

Thus ſaith the Lord, ſtand ye in the ways and ſee, and ask for the old Paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye ſhall find reſt for your Souls: But they ſaid, We will not walk therein, Jer. 6. 16.

Now go write it before them in a Table; and note it in a Book, that it may be for the time to come, for ever and ever:

That this is a Rebellious People, Lying Children that will not hear the Law of the Lord:

Which ſay to the ſeers, See not: and to the Prophets, Propheſy not unto us right things: ſpeak unto us ſmooth things, propheſie deceits, Iſa. 30. 8, 9, 10.

The Prophets propheſie falſly, and the Prieſts bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it ſo: but what will ye do in the end thereof? Jer. 30. 10, 11, 12.

FINIS.

BOOKS *Sold by* George Sawbridge *at the* Three Flower-de-luces *in* Little-Britain.

THe Hiſtory of *Faction*, alias *Hypocriſy*, alias *Moderation*, from its firſt Riſe down to its Preſent Toleration in theſe Kingdoms. Wherein its Original and Increaſe are ſet forth, its ſeveral Contrivances to Subvert the Church and State, apparently Detected, and the Steps it has made towards getting into the Supream Power, from the Reformation to the Riſing the laſt Parliament, are conſider'd.

A Taſte

A Taſte of the Saints Submiſſion Loyalty and Moderation, before and ſince the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* 2d, Giving an account of their frequent Conſpiracies, Inſurrections and Rebellions, *&c.* Alſo an Inſtance of St. *Baxter's* Moderation and Pity. With an Account of Their Sincerity in the Interpretation of Scripture, and the Pious Uſe they make in Inverting the ſence thereof.

The Ax laid to the Root of the Tree: Or, a Diſcourſe wherein the Anabaptiſts Miſſion and Miniſtry are Examin'd and Diſprov'd, Their Arguments for it Refuted at large, their Grounds of Separation from the Church of *England* demonſtrated to be Slanders, and the Matter of them moſt juſtly retorted upon themſelves, as altogether inconſiſtent with the Notion of a Chriſtian Church, and ſo creating a Conſtant and Indelible Prejudice againſt Communion with them. Wherein likewiſe the Unity of the Church, and Evangelical Prieſthood are aſſerted againſt them and all other Sectaries, of whatſoever Denomination.

The Moon Calf: Or, Accurate Reflections on the Conſolidator; giving an Account of ſome Remarkable Tranſactions in the *Lunar* World; Tranſmitted hither in a Letter to a Friend, by the Man in the Moon.

Concordia Diſcors: Or, ſome Animadverſions upon a late Treatiſe; Intituled, *An Eſſay for Catholick Communion, in a Letter to a Friend at* Weſtminſter.

A Letter from a Country Juſtice of the Peace to an Alderman of the City of *London*, *&c.* concerning the Bp. of *Salisbury's* Speech in the Houſe of Lords, upon the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity.

The Maſk of Moderation pull'd off the ſoul Face of Occaſional Conformity; being an Anſwer to a late Poiſonous Pamphlet, Intituled, *Moderation ſtill a Virtue:* Wherein the Looſe Reaſoning, and Shuffling Arguments of that Author, are plainly laid open and Confuted.

Several Diſcourſes: By the Right Reverend Father in God, *William Sheridan*, D. D. Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*.

Advice to the Clergy in ſix Sermons, Repreſenting their Dignity and Duty, with the Addition of two other Sermons, wherein the Clergy are concerned, as well as the Laity, if not more; and I am afraid both of them too much.

The Rights of the Church of *England* Aſſerted and Prov'd; in an Anſwer to a Late Pamphlet, Intituled, *The Rights of the Proteſtant Diſſenters*, in a Review of their Caſe, 2d Edition, *price* 1 *s.* 6 *d.*

APPENDIX.

Advertiſement to the Readers.

Gentlemen,

IT is become a Mode amongſt ſome late Writers and Hiſtorians, who deal in old Manuſcripts, to make *Appendixes*, and *Tack* Records, Letters and Papers, to their Books, either as Buttrices to ſupport their main Building, or elſe to preſerve thoſe Papers, which otherwiſe might be loſt: And if I have followed ſuch great Examples, I hope I may be excuſed as well as they; and if for this I ſhould be accounted a *Tacker*, I ſhall not be troubled at it, but ſhall look on it as an Honour to be in ſuch Company.

NUMB. I.

A Short Account of Biſhop Merks, *and his Speech upon the Depoſition of* Richard II. *taken out of* Godwin's *Catalogue of* Engliſh *Biſhops.*

THomas *Merks*, a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, was made Biſhop of *Carliſle* by the Pope, at the King's Requeſt, and Conſecrated, 1397. He, undoubtedly, was a Man well deſerving that Honour; for he was a Man both Learned and Wiſe, but principally to be commended, *Firſt*, for his conſtant and unmoveable Fidelity unto his Patron and Preferrer, King *Richard*; *then*, for his excellent Courage in profeſſing the ſame, when he might ſafely, yea and honeſtly alſo have concealed his Affection.—— This Man, nothing regarding the Danger might enſue, not only refuſed to forſake him, when he had forſaken himſelf, but defended him and his Cauſe the beſt he could, when he might well perceive his Endeavour might hurt himſelf much, without any Poſſibility of helping the other.

When the furious and unſtable Multitude, not contented that King *Richard* had reſigned his Crown, to ſave the Head that wore it, and their Darling *Henry* IV. ſeated himſelf in his Royal Throne; importuned the Parliament aſſembled, to proceed yet farther againſt him, deſiring, no doubt, that, to make all ſure, his Life might be taken from him: This worthy and memorable Prelate ſtepping forth, doubted not to tell them, 'That there was none amongſt 'them meet to give Judgment upon ſo noble a Prince as 'King *Richard* was, whom they had taken for their So-'vereign and Liege Lord by the ſpace of 22 Years and 'more: *And proceeding farther*, I aſſure you, *quoth he*, (*I 'report his Words as I find them in our Chronicles*) there is 'not ſo rank a Traytor, nor ſo errand a Thief, nor yet 'ſo cruel a Murderer, apprehended, or detained in Pri-'ſon, for his Offence, but he ſhall be brought before the 'Juſtice to hear Judgment, and will you proceed to the

' Judgment of an Anointed King, hearing neither his An-
' ſwer nor Excuſe? I ſay, and will avouch, That the Duke
' of *Lancaſter* (whom ye call King) hath more treſpaſſed to
' King *Richard*, and his Realm, than King *Richard* hath
' done either to Him or Us: For it is manifeſt and well
' known, that this Duke was Baniſhed the Realm by K.
' *Richard* and his Council, and by the Judgment of his own
' Father, for the ſpace of ten Years, for what cauſe ye re-
' member well enough. This notwithſtanding, without
' Licenſe of King *Richard*, he is returned again into the
' Realm, and (that is worſe) hath taken upon him the
' Name, Title, and Pre-eminence of King: And therefore
' I ſay, that you have done manifeſt wrong to proceed
' againſt King *Richard* in any ſort, without calling him
' openly to his Anſwer and Defence. *See* Baker's *Chron.* Hen. IV. *and Sir* John Hayward's, Hen. IV. p. 100.

NUMB. II.

The Damnation and Excommunication of *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, and her Adherents, with an Addition of other Puniſhments.

Pius *Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, ad perpetuam Rei memoriam.*

REgnans in Excelſis cui data eſt omnis in Cælo & in Terra Poteſtas, unam Sanctam, Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam (extra quam nulla eſt ſalus) ſoli in terris, videlicet, Apoſtolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; *Succeſſori Romano Pontifici, in Poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit Gubernandam. Hunc unum ſuper omnes Gentes, & omnia Regna Principem conſtituit, qui evellat, deſtruat, diſſipet, diſperdat, plantet & ædificet, ut fidelem populum, mutuæ Charitatis nexu conſtrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, ſalvumq; & incolumem ſuo exhibeat Salvatori.*

1. *Quo quidem immunere obeundo, Nos ad predictæ Eccleſiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni operâ contendentes, ut ipſa Unitas, & Catholica Religio (quam illius Auctor ad probandam ſuorum fidem,*

&

& correctionem noſtram, tantis procellis conflictori permiſit) integra conſervetur. Sed Impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluet, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus ſit relictus, quem illi peſſimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente inter cæteros flagitiorum Serva Elizabeth, *pretenſa Angliæ Reginâ; ad quam, veluti ad Aſylum, omnium infeſtiſſimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem, Regno occupato, ſupremi eccleſiæ capitis locum, in omni* Angliâ *ejuſq; præcipuam Authoritatem atque Juriſdictionem monſtroſe ſibi uſurpans, regnum ipſum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rurſus in exitium miſerum revocavit.*

§ 2. *Uſu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius defertore* Henrico VIII. *olim everſam, claræ M-- m* Maria *Regina legitima, hujus Sedis Præſidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, ſecutiſq; & amplexis Hæreticorum erroribus Regium Conſilium ex* Anglicâ *Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obſcuris hominibus Hæreticis complevit, Catholicæ Fidei cultores oppreſſit, improbas concionatores, atq; Impietatum Adminiſtros repoſuit, Miſſæ Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, ciborum delectum, Rituſq; Catholicos abolevit. Libros manifeſtam Hæreſim continentes, toto Regno proponi, impia Myſteria, & inſtituta ad* Calvini *præſcriptum a ſe ſuſcepta, & obſervata, etiam a Subditis obſervari mandavit. Epiſcopos eccleſiarum Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, ſuis eccleſiis, & Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis & aliis Eccleſiaſticis rebus, in hæreticos homines diſponere, deq; Eccleſiæ cauſis decernere auſa, Prælatis, Clero, & Populo, ne Romanam Eccleſiam agnoſcerent, neve ejus præceptis, Sanctionibuſq; canonicis obtemperarent, Interdixit, pleroſq; in nefarias leges ſuas venire, & Romani Pontificis auctoritatem atq; obedientiam abjurare; ſeq; ſolam, in Temporalibus & Spiritualibus Dominam agnoſcere jurejurando coegit; & Pœnas & Supplicia in eos qui dicto non eſſent Audientes, Impoſuit; eaſdemq; ab iis, qui in Unitate Fidei, & prædicta Obedientia perſeverarunt, Exegit. Catholicos Antiſtites, & Eccleſiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit, ubi multi diuturno Langucre & Triſtitiâ confecti, extremum vitæ diem miſerè finiverunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perſpicua & notoria ſunt, & graviſſimo quam plurimorum teſtimonio, ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excuſationis, defenſionis, aut tergiverſationis relinquatur.*

§ 3. *Nos multiplicantibus aliis atq; aliis ſuper alias impietatibus, & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium perſecutione, Re-*

ligioniſq; afflictione, impulſu & operâ d. Elizabeth *quotidie magis ingraveſcent, quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atq; induratum Intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum de ſanitate & converſione, preces, monitioneſq; contempſerit, ſed ne hujus quidem ſedis ad ipſam hac de cauſâ Nuncios in* Angliam *trajicere permiſerit; ad arma juſtitiæ contra eam de neceſſitate converſi, dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus Majores de Republicâ Chriſtiana tantopere meruëre. Illius itaq; auctoritate ſuffulti: Qui nos in hoc ſupremo Juſtitiæ Throno licet tanto ontri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam* Elizabeth *Hæreticam, hæreticorumq; fautricem, eiq; adhærentes in prædictis, Anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſeq; a Chriſti Corporis unitate præciſos.*

§ 4. *Quin etiam ipſam* Prætenſo *Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni quocunq; Dominio, Dignitate, Privilegioq; privatam.*

§ 5. *Et etiam, Proceres, Subditos, & Populos dicti Regni, at cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunq; juraverunt. A juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus Dominii, Fidelitatis & Obſequii debito, perpetuo abſolutos, prout nos illos præſentium auctoritate abſolvimus, & privamus eandem* Elizabeth prætenſo *jure Regni, alijſq; omnibus ſupradictis. Præcipimus & Interdicimus univerſis & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, populis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi ejuſve monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire. Qui ſecus egerint eos ſimili Anathematis ſententiâ immodamus.*

——— *Dat'* Romæ, *apud Sanctum* Petrum *Anno. Incarnationis Domin.* 1570. 5 *Cal.* Maii. *Pontificat noſtri Anno.* 5.

In this Bull the Pope, *Pius* the Fifth, abſolves the People of *England* from their Oaths of Allegiance to Queen *Elizabeth*, having incurr'd, *&c.* His Words are theſe:

'We do out of the fullneſs of our Apoſtolick Power, 'declare (the aforeſaid) *Elizabeth*, being an Heretick, and 'a favourer of Hereticks, and her Adherents, (in the Mat-'ters aforeſaid) to have incurred the Sentence of *Anathe-'ma*, and to be cut off from the Unity of the Body of 'Chriſt.

'And

' And moreover, We do declare her to be Deprived of ' her *pretended* Title to the Kingdom aforeſaid, and of all ' Dominion, Dignity and Privilege whatſoever.

' And alſo the Nobility, Subjects, and People of the ' ſaid Kingdom, and all others, which have in any ſort ' ſworn unto her, to be for ever *Abſolved* from any ſuch ' *Oath*, and all manner of Duty, of Dominion, Allegiance ' and Obedience: As we alſo do by Authority of theſe ' Preſents abſolve them; and do deprive the ſame *Eliza-* ' *beth* of her *pretended* Title to the Kingdom, and all other ' things aboveſaid. And we do Command and Interdict, ' all and every of the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and ' others aforeſaid, that they preſume not to obey her, or ' her Monitions, and Mandates; and thoſe who ſhall do ' the contrary, we do immodate with the like Sentence ' of *Anathema*.

The horrid Practice of Murdering Kings, Justified, and commended by the Pope, in a Speech to his Cardinals, upon the Barbarous Assassination of Henry *the Third of* France, *who was stabb'd by* Jaques Clement, *a Dominican Friar.*

Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. de *Henrici* Tertii morte, Sermo, *Romæ* in Consistorio Patrum habitus, 11 Septemb. 1589.

ANIMO *meo sæpe ac serio revolvens, mentisq; aciem intendens in ea, quæ nuper Dei voluntate acciderunt, videor mihi vere posse illud Prophetæ* Abbakuk *usurpare:* Quia opus factum est in diebus vestris, quod nemo credet, cum narrabitur, (Abbak. 1. v. 5.) *Mortuus est Rex* Francorum *per manus Monachi.*

Nam ad istud potest recte applicari: licet de alia re, nempe de incarnatione Domini, quæ omnia mira, ac mirabilia superat, Propheta proprie locutus sit, sicut & Apostolus Paulus *eadem verba,* (Actorum 13. v. 41.) *ad Christi resurrectionem verissime refert. Quando Propheta nominat Opus, non vult innuere aliquid vulgare, vel ordinarium, sed rarum, insigne, ac memorabile facinus; quomodo de creatione Mundi,* Opera manuum tuarum sunt cœli. *Item,* Requievit die septimo ab omni opere quod patrarat. *Cum vero factum ait, eo verbo tale aliquid in Scripturis exprimi, quod non temere, casu, fortuna aut per accidens evenire dicitur; sed quod expressa Dei voluntate, providentia, dispositione, ac ordinatione obvenit. Ut cum dicit Salvator,* Opera quæ ego facio vos facietis, & majora horum facietis: *& similia in sacris literis plurima. Quod autem loquatur in præterito factum esse, id more aliorum Prophetarum facit, qui propter certitudinem eventus solent sæpe de futuris, ac si jam facta essent prædicere. Dicunt enim Philosophi, res præteritas esse de necessitate, præsentes de inesse, futuras de possibili tantum: ita illi loquantur.*

Propter quam certitudinem Isaias *Propheta longe ante vaticinatus de morte Christi, sic dixit, sicut in Act. Apostolorum*

cap.

cap. 8. etiam recitatur, Tanquam ovis ad occiſionem ductus eſt & ſicut agnus coram tondente ſe non aperuit os ſuum, *&c.*

Atque hoc, de quo nunc verba facimus, & quod hic diebus noſtris evenit, vere inſigne, memorabile, & pene incredibile, opus eſt, nec ſine Dei opt. Max particulari providentia, & diſpoſitione perpetratum. Occidit Monachus Regem, *non pictum aut fictum in charta, aut pariete ; ſed Regem* Francorum *in medio exercitus ſui, milite & cuſtodia undique ſeptum : quod re vera tale eſt, & eo modo effectum, ut nemo nunc credat, cum narrabitur, & fortaſſe apud poſteritatem pro fabula reputabitur.*

Quod Rex ſit mortuus, vel etiam peremptus, facile creditur, ſed eum ſic ſublatum, vix eſt credibile : ſicut Chriſtum natum ex fœmina ſtatim aſſentimur ; ſed ſi addas porro ex fœmina Virgine ortum eſſe, tunc ſecundum hominem non aſſentior ; ita etiam quod mortuus ſit Chriſtus facile credimus, ſed quod mortuus jam reſurrexerit ad vitam, quia ex privatione ad habitum non fit regreſſio, redditur ſecundum intellectum humanum impoſſibile, propterea incredibile : quod homo ex ſomno, ex morbo, etiam ex ſyncope, vel extaſi reſuſcitatur, quia id ſæpe ſecundum naturam fit, humanitus credimus ; ſed reſurrexiſſe a mortuis, ita ſecundum carnem videbatur incredibile, Ut Paulo *apud Philoſophos Athenienſes de hac reſurrectione differenti, improperarent, quod eſſet novorum dæmoniorum annunciator : & alii, ſicut D.* Lucas *narrat, irridebant ; alii dicebant,* Audiemus te de hoc iterum. *De talibus igitur, quæ ſecundum naturæ leges, & ordinarium curſum fieri non ſolent, dicit Propheta, quod nemo credet, cum narrabitur ; ſed hujuſmodi tantum fidem adhibemus ex conſideratione omnipotentiæ divinæ, & per ſubjectionem intellectus noſtri in obedientiam fidei, & obſequium Chriſti. Nam hoc modo quod erat incredibile naturaliter, fit credibile. Igitur qui ſecundum hominem non credo Chriſtum de virgine natum, tamen quando additur hoc factum eſſe ſupra naturæ terminos per operationem Spiritus ſancti, tunc vere aſſentior, & credo.*

Ita quando dicitur Chriſtum ex mortuis reſurrexiſſe, humanitus non credo ; ſed cum id factum eſſe per divinam (quæ in ipſo erat) naturam affirmatur, tunc omnino credo.

Eodem modo licet tantum Regem in media exercitu, tot ſtipatum militibus, ab uno ſimplici, & imbelli Religioſo occiſum eſſe, ſecundum prudentiam carnis, & intellectum humanum ſit

incredibile,

incredibile, vel omnino improbabile; tamen conſiderando ex altera parte graviſſima Regis peccata, & ſpecialem Dei omnipotentis in hac re providentiam, & quam inuſitato, & mirabili modo juſtiſſimam voluntatem ſuam erga ipſum impleverit, omnino, & firmiter credo. Rem etenim iſtam tam grandem & inuſitatam alio referre, quam ad particularem Dei providentiam (ſicut quoſdam ad alias cauſas ordinarias, vel etiam ad fortunam & caſum, aut ſimiles accidentarios eventus perperam referre intelligimus,) prorſus non licet; ſicut ii, qui totius facti ſeriem preſſius obſervant, facile videre poſſunt, ubi plurima intervenerunt, quæ ab homine niſi Dei ſpeciali concurrente auxilio, expediri non quiverant. Et ſane Regum ac Regnorum rationes, cæteraq; tam rara tantiq; momenti negotia a Deo temere adminiſtrari non eſt exiſtimandum. Sunt in ſacra Hiſtoria nonnulla hujus generis, nec eorum quidquam poteſt alio, quam ad Deum Authorem referri; tamen nihil eſt, ubi magis claret ſuperna operatio, quam in eſto, de quo nunc agimus.

Libr. Macchab. 1. cap. 6. *Legimus,* Eleazarum, *ut Regem populi Dei perſecutorem, ac hoſtem tolleret, ſeipſum certæ morti obtuliſſe. Nam in conflictu conſpiciens Elephantem cæteris eminentiorem, in quo videbatur Rex eſſe, concito curſu in mediam hoſtium turmam ſe conjiciens, hinc inde viam vi ſternens, ad belluam venit, atque ſub eam intravit, ſubjectoque gladio peremit, quæ cadens oppreſſit* Eleazarum *& extinxit. Hic quoad zelum, & animi robur, reique tentatæ exitum, aliquid hujus noſtri ſimile cernimus, tamen in reliquis nihil eſt comparabile.* Eleazarus *erat miles, armis & pugna exercitatus, in ipſo prælio conſtitutus, ardoreque animi, & furore (ut fit) accenſus: iſte Monachus prœliis ac pugnis non erat aſſuefactus, & a ſanguine vitæ ſuæ inſtituto ita abhorrens, ut nec ex venæ inciſione ſuſum cruorem forſan ferre patuerit.*

Ille noverat genus mortis, ſimulque locum ſepulturæ ſuæ, nempe quod ruina belluæ incluſas magis, quam oppreſſus, ſuo ſepeliretur triumpho: iſte mortem, ac tormenta crudeliora, & incognita expectabat, ſepulchroque ſe cariturum non dubitabat. Sed & alia multa diſſimilia ſunt. Nota quoque eſt inſignis illa hiſtoria ſanctæ mulieris Judith, *quæ & ipſa, ut obſeſſam civitatem ſuam, ac populum Dei liberaret, cepit conſilium, Deo ſine controverſia ſuggeſtore, de interimendo* Holopherne *hoſtilis exercitus principe; quod & perfecit. In quo opere licet plurima, & apertiſſima ſupernæ directionis indicia appareant, tamen longe majora divinæ providentiæ argumenta, in iſtius Regis occiſione, ac civitatis Pariſienſis liberatione conſpicere licebit, ſicut certe quoad hominem, hoc fuit illo magis difficile, vel impoſſibile.*

Nam

Nam illa ſancta fœmina intentionem ſuam, aliquibus urbis presbyteris aperuit, portamque civitatis, & cuſtodiem pertranſiit illis præſentibus, ac approbantibus, ut proinde ſcrutationi, vel explorationi, quæ obſidionis tempore ſolet eſſe tam exacta, ut ne muſca fere ſine examine egredi queat, non potuerit eſſe ſubjecta.

Apud hoſtes vero, per quorum caſtra, & varias excubias tranſeundum erat, ſæpius explorata, & examinata cum fœmina eſſet, nec quidquam haberet vel literarum, vel armorum, unde ſuſpicio oriri potuit, deque adventu in caſtra, & a ſuis, fugæ probabiles reddens rationes, facile dimittebatur.

Sicut tam propter eaſdem cauſas, quam propter ſexum, & formæ excellentiam ad Principem impudicum introduci, & in temulentum, facile, quod deſignavit, perficere valuit. Ita illa.

Hic vero Religioſus aggreſſus eſt, & confecit rem longe majorem, pluribuſque impedimentis, ac tantis difficultatibus, periculiſque obſitam, ut nulla prudentia, aut aſtutia humana, nec alio modo, niſi aperta Dei ordinatione, ac ſuccurſu confici potuerit. Debebant obtineri literæ commendatitiæ ab iis, qui erant contrariæ factionis; tranſcundum erat per eam urbis portam qua itur ad caſtra hoſtium; quæ ita ſine dubio in illis obſidionis anguſtiis cuſtodiebatur, ut cuncta haberentur ſuſpecta, nec cuiquam ſine curioſiſſima exploratione de literis, nunciis, negotiis, armis, pateret exitus.

Sed iſte (res mira) vigiles pertranſiit ſine examine, etiam cum literis credentiæ ad hoſtem, quæ ſi fuiſſent interceptæ a civibus, ſine mora, ac ſine ulteriori judicio de vita fuiſſet actum, atque apertum hoc divinæ providentiæ argumentum: ſed majus miraculum eſt illud, quod idem mox ſine omni exploratione tranſierit quoq; caſtra hoſtium, varias militum excubias, ipſamq; corporis Regis cuſtodiam, ac totum denique exercitum, qui fere erat conflatus ex hæreticis, ipſe Religioſus exiſtens, & in habitu Ordinis ſui, qui ita erat exoſus talibus hominibus, ut in illis locis, quæ paulo ante prope Pariſios vi ceperant, Monachos quoſq; vel occiderint, vel peſſime tractaverint.

Judith erat fœmina, minimeq; odioſa; tamen examinata ſæpe, illa nihil ſecum tulit, unde ſibi oriretur periculum. iſte Monachus, & propterea odioſus, ac ſuſpectiſſimus, etiam cum cultello ad hoc propoſitum præparato, non in vagina condito

(unde

(unde poterat esse probabilis excusatio) sed nudo, ac in manica abscondito, quem si invenissent, mox fuisset in crucem actus.

Ista omnia clariora sunt particularis providentiæ divinæ argumenta, quam ut negari queant: nec aliter fieri potuit, quam ut a Deo occæcarentur oculi inimicorum ne agnoscerent illum.

Nam, ut antea diximus, licet quidam ista absurde tribuant fortunæ, aut casui, tamen nos hoc totum non alio referendum censemus, quam in divinam voluntatem.

Nec profecto aliter factum crederem, nisi captivarem intellectum in obsequium Christi, qui hoc modo admirabili, & liberare civitatem Parisiensem (quam variis viis intelleximus fuisse in summo discrimine, maximisq; angustiis constitutam) & istius Regis gravissima peccata punire, eumque tam infausta, & infami morte e medio tollere statuit. Atque nos, dolentes sane, aliquoties prædiximus fore, ut quemadmodum erat familiæ suæ ultimus, ita aliquem insuetum, & dedecorosum vitæ exitum esset habiturus. Quod me dixisse non solum Cardinales Joiosa, Lenocortius, *&* Parisiensis, *sed etiam, qui tunc apud nos residebat Orator, testes esse possunt. Neque enim hic mortuos, sed viventes in testimonium hujusmodi verborum nostrorum adhibemus, quorum isti omnes probe meminisse possunt. Quidquid tamen in hunc infœlicem Regem hoc tempore dicere cogimur, nullo modo volumus, ut pertineat ad nobilissimum illud Galliæ Regnum, quod nos imposterum, sicut hactenus semper omni paterno amore, ac honore prosequemur. De persona ergo Regis tantum ista cum dolore diximus, cujus infaustus finis eximit quoque ipsum ab iis officiis, quæ solet hæc sancta sedes (quæ est pia Mater omnium fidelium, & maxime Christianorum principum) Imperatoribus & Regibus post mortem exhibere: quæ pro isto libenter quoque feciissemus, nisi id fieri in hoc casu sacræ Scripturæ vetarent.*

Est, *inquit S. Joannes,* peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico ut roget quis: *quod vel intelligi potest de peccato ipso, ac si diceret, pro illo peccato, vel pro remissione illius peccati nolo ut quisquam roget, quoniam non est remissibile: vel, quod in eundem sensum redit, pro illo homine, qui peccat peccatum ad mortem, non dico ut roget quis. De quo genere etiam Salvator apud* Matt. *quod illi, qui peccat in Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur, neque in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro. Ubi facit tria genera peccatorum, ni-*

mirum

mirum in Patrem, in Filium, & in Spiritum ſanctum; atque priora duo eſſe minus gravia, & remiſſibilia, tertium vero irremiſſibile, quæ tota differentia, ſicut ex Scripturis ſcholæ tradunt, oritur ex diſtinctione attributorum, quæ ſingula ſingulis Perſonis ſanctiſſimæ Trinitatis appropriantur.

Licet enim, ſicut eadem eſt eſſentia, ſic eadem quoque eſt potentia, ſapientia, & bonitas omnium perſonarum (ſicut ex Symbolo S. Athanaſii didicimus, cum ait, Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus;) tamen per attributionem, Patri applicatur Potentia, Filio Sapientia, Spiritui Sancto Amor; quorum ſingula eo modo, quo attributa dicuntur, ita ſunt propria cujuſq; perſonæ, ut in aliam referri non queant; ex quorum Attributorum contrariis, & diſtinctionem, & gravitatem peccatorum dignoſcimus.

Contrarium Potentiæ, quæ attribuitur Patri, eſt Infirmitas; ut pro inde id quod ex infirmitate, ſeu naturæ noſtræ imbecillitate committimus, dicatur commiſſi in Patrem.

Oppoſitum Sapientiæ eſt Ignorantia, ex qua cum quis peccat, dicitur peccare in filium; ita ut ea, quæ vel ex humana infirmitate, vel ignoratione peccamus, facilius nobis condonari ſoleant.

Tertium autem Attributum, quod eſt Spiritus Sancti, nempe Amor, habet pro contrario Ingratitudinem, vitium maxime odibile: unde venit, ut homo non agnoſcat Dei erga ipſum dilectionem, ut beneficia; ſed obliviſcatur, contemnat, ac odio etiam habeat. Ex quo tandem fit, aut obſtinatus reddatur, atq; impœnitans atq; his modis multo gravius & periculoſius peccatur in Deum, quam ex ignorantia, aut imbecillitate; proinde hujuſmodi vocantur peccata in Spiritum Sanctum.

Et quia rarius, ac difficilius, & non niſi abundantiori gratia condonantur, dicuntur, irremiſſibilia quodammodo; cum tamen ſola impœnitentia ſit omnino & ſimpliciter irremiſſibilis; quicquid enim in vita committitur, licet contra Spiritum ſanctum, poteſt per pœnitentiam deleri ante mortem. Sed qui perſeverat uſque ad mortem, nullum locum relinquit gratiæ ac miſericordiæ: atq; pro tali peccato, ſeu pro homine ſic peccante, noluit Apoſtolus ut poſt mortem oraremus.

Jam ergo quia magno noſtro dolore intelligimus, prædictum Regem ex hac vita ſine pœnitentia, ſeu impœnitentem exceſſiſſe, nimirum in conſortio hæreticorum; ex talibus enim hominibus confecerat exercitum ſuum: & quod commendaverat moriens regnum in ſucceſſione Navarræ declarato hæretico,

& ex-

& excommunicato; necnon in extremis, ac in ultimo fere vitæ ſpiritu ab eodem, & ſimilibus circumſtantibus petierit, ut vindictam ſumerent de iis, quos ipſe judicabat fuiſſe cauſas mortis ſuæ. Propter hæc, & ſimilia manifeſta impœnitentiæ indicia, decrevimus pro ipſo non eſſe celebrandas exequias, non quod præſumamus quidquam ex hoc de occultis erga ipſum Dei judiciis, aut miſericordiis, qui poterat ſecundum beneplacitum ſuum in ipſo exitu animæ ſuæ convertere cor ejus, & miſericorditer cum illo agere; ſed iſta locuti ſumus ſecundum ea, quæ nobis exterius patent. Faxit benigniſſimus Salvator noſter, ut reliqui hoc horrendo juſtitiæ ſuperne exemplo admoniti, in viam ſalutis redeant, & quod miſericorditer hoc modo cœpit, benigne proſequatur, ac perficiat, ſicut eum facturum ſperamus: ut de erepta Eccleſia de tantis malis, & periculis, perennes illi gratias agamus.

In quam ſententiam cum dixiſſet Pontifex, dimiſit Conſiſtorium cum benedictione.

The Pope [*Sixtus Quintus*] in this Harangue, not only juſtifies the Murder of *Henry* the Third of *France*, but magnifies *James Clement*, a Dominican Friar, who murdered him, and ſpeaks of the Murder it ſelf as an Heroical Act. He makes it a greater and more noble Enterprize than that of *Eleazer*, who ran himſelf upon certain Death to ſlay his Enemies, and ſave his Country from Ruin and Deſolation; or *Judith*'s cutting off the Head of *Holophernes*, the grand Enemy of the People of God; and impiouſly aſcribes it to the *Holy Will and purpoſe* of God himſelf: 'And becauſe the King, *as he ſays*, dy'd Impenitent, and 'in the Communion of Hereticks, and left his Crown and 'Kingdom to a declared Heretick, and Excommunicated 'Perſon; He, for theſe, and other ſuch like Tokens of 'Impenitency, Decreed, That his Death ſhould not be 'ſolemniz'd with Funeral Rites; not, *ſays he*, that we 'preſume any thing by this concerning God's ſecret Judg-'ments againſt him, or his Mercies towards him, who 'could, according to his good Pleaſure, convert and turn 'his Heart, even when his Soul was leaving the Body, 'and deal mercifully with him: But theſe things we have 'ſpoken according to what appeared outwardly to us. 'God grant, *ſays he*, that all being admoniſhed, and warn-'ed by this fearful Example of *Heavenly Juſtice*, may re-

'pent

‘ pent and amend; and that it may pleaſe Him to conti-
‘ nue and perfect that which he hath thus mercifully be-
‘ gun for us, (as we hope he will) that we may give him
‘ everlaſting Thanks, for delivering his Church from ſuch
‘ Evils and Dangers.

Sir John Puckering's *Speech in the Houſe of Commons*, 1588.

YOU are eſpecially commanded by Her Majeſty, to take heed, that no ear be given, nor time afforded, to the wearisome Sollicitations of thoſe that commonly be called Puritans, wherewith all the late Parliaments have been exceedingly importun'd; which ſort of Men, whilſt that (in giddineſs of their Spirits) they labour and ſtrive to advance a new Elderſhip, they do nothing elſe but diſturb the good Repoſe of the Church and Commonwealth, which is as well grounded for the Body of Religion in it ſelf, and as well guided for the Diſcipline, as any Realm that confeſſeth the Truth: And the ſame thing is already made good to the World, by many of the Writings of Godly and Learned Men, neither anſwered nor anſwerable by any of theſe new fangled Refiners. And as the preſent Caſe ſtands, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jeſuits, do offer more danger, or be more ſpeedily to be repreſſed: For, albeit, the Jeſuits do empoiſon the Hearts of Her Majeſty's Subjects, under a pretext of Conſcience to withdraw them from their Obedience due to Her Majeſty, yet do they the ſame, but cloſely, and in Privy-corners: But theſe Men do both teach, and publiſh in their printed Books, and teach in all their Conventicles, ſundry Opinions, not only dangerous to a well-ſettled Eſtate, and the Policy of the Realm, by putting a Pike between the Clergy and the Laiety; but alſo much derogatory to Her Sacred Majeſty and Her Crown, as well by the Diminution of Her ancient and lawful Revenues, as by denying Her Highneſs Prerogative and Supremacy, as by offering Peril to Her Majeſty's Safety in Her own Kingdom. In all which things, however, in other Points they pretend to be at War with the Popiſh Jeſuits) yet by this Separation

of

of themſelves from the Unity of their Fellow-Subjects, and by abuſing the ſacred Authority and Majeſty of their Prince, they do both join and concur with the Jeſuits in opening the Door, and preparing the Way to the *Spaniſh* Invaſion that is threaten'd againſt the Realm. *State Worthies*, printed 1670. p. 607.

NUMB. V.

Decretum Univerſitatis *Oxon.* damnans Propoſitiones Neotericorum infra ſcriptas ſive Jeſuitorum, ſive Puritanorum, ſive aliorum cujuſcunque generis Scriptorum.

The Decree of the Univerſity of Oxford, *in which the following Propoſitions of ſome Jeſuits, Puritans, and other modern Writers, are Condemned.*

P. 1. AD *Honorem Sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis, & ad Catholicæ & Orthodoxæ doctrinæ veritatem in Eccleſia conſervandam, necnon ut Regia* MAJESTAS, *non ab hoſtium ſolum, ſed & errorum inſidijs ſartatecta maneat: frequenti* CONVOCATIONIS *ſenatu, die Martis*, viz. *viceſſimo quinto die menſis* Junii, *Anno Dom.* 1622. *habito,* VICE-CANCELLARIUS, *Doctores, Procuratores, Magiſtri Regentes & non Regentes, more & loco conſuetis convocati, unanimi conſenſu & aſſenſu ſuper quibuſdam Propoſitionibus, ſive Aſſertionibus, non ſolum Divino Canoni, Decretis Conciliorum, Scriptis Patrum, & Primitivæ Eccleſiæ fidei & profeſſionis,* [P. 2.] *ſed etiam* Monarchico

TO the Honour of the Holy and undivided Trinity, the Preſervation of the true Catholick and Orthodox Doctrine in the Church; and that the King's Majeſty may be ſecured from the open Aſſaults and ſecret Practices of his Enemies: We, the Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and Maſters Regent and non Regent, met in Convocation, in the accuſtomed manner and place, on Tueſday the 25th Day of *June*, in the Year 1622. concerning certain Propoſitions or Aſſertions, not only repugnant to the Canon of Scripture, Decrees of Councils, Writings of the Fathers; and

culmini ſubdole ruinam minitantibus, decreverunt in formulam ſubſequentem.

PROPOS.] *EPISCOPI & Paſtores Magiſtratus ſuo, impios aut injuſtos, ſi contumaces ſint, Poſſunt & debent de conſenſu Eccleſiæ Satanæ tradere, donec reſipiſſant.*

CENSURA] *HÆC Propoſitio eſt erronea, impia, & ſonæ Politiciæ ſubverſiva.*

PROP.] *SUBDITI, non privati, ſed in Magiſtratu inferiori conſtituti, adverſus ſuperiorem Magiſtratum, ſe & Remp: & eccleſiam, ſeu veram Religionem, etiam armis defendere jure poſſunt, biſpoſitis conditionibus.*

1. *CUM ſuperior Magiſtratus degenerat in Tyrannum.*

2. *AUT ad manifeſtam Idolatriam atq; blaſphemias ipſos, vel ſubditos alios, vi vult cogere.*

3. *CUM ipſis atrox infertur injuria.*

4. *Si aliter incolumes ſortunis, vitæ, & Conſcientiæ eſſe, non poſſint.*

and to the Faith and Profeſſion of the Primitive Church, but tending alſo to the Subverſion of Monarchy, by our unanimous Conſent and Aſſent, have decreed in Form following:

Prop. 1.] 'That Biſhops 'and Paſtors may and ought 'with the Conſent of the 'Church, to Excommuni-'cate their impious and un-'juſt Magiſtrates, if they be 'Contumacious, until they 'repent.

Cenſure] This Propoſition is erroneous, impious, and tends to the Subverſion of Civil Government.

Prop. 2.] 'That Inferior 'Magiſtrates, but not Pri-'vate Subjects, may law-'fully defend themſelves, the 'Common-wealth, and the 'Church, or True Religion, 'even by force of Arms, a-'gainſt the ſupreme Magi-'ſtrate, upon theſe Condi-'tions:

1. 'If the ſupreme Magi-'ſtrate turn Tyrant.

2. 'Or will compel his 'Subjects to commit mani-'feſt Idolatry, and Blaſ-'phemy.

3. 'If any great Injury is 'done them.

4. 'If they cannot other-'wiſe be ſafe in their Eſtates, 'Lives and Conſciences.

5. *Ne prætextu Religionis, aut Justitiæ, sua quæram.*

6 *SERVATA semper æquitate, & moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ, juxta leges.*

CENSURA] *HÆC Propositio est falsa, seditiosa & callide restringitur ad Conditiones, annexas sub quibus latente serpentino dolo, quilibet seditiosus facile se expedire potest.*

PROP. 3.] *SUBDITIS mere privatis sine legitima vocatione neq; ad invadendum Tyrannos ante Periculum, neq; ad defendendum se contra eos in periculo, neq; ad vindicandum se post Periculum, arma capessere licet si ab ordinaria potestate defendi possint.*

CENSURA] *HÆC Propositio supponit falsa, & est insidiosa, & seditiosa.*

PROP. 4.] *SUBDITIS mere privatis si Tyrannus tanquam latro aut Stuprator in ipsos faciat impetum, & ipsi nec potestatem ordinariam implorare, nec alia ratione effugere periculum possint, in præsenti periculo se & suos contra Tyrannum sicut contra privatum grassatorem, defendere licet.*

5. 'Provided that they do 'not, under the pretence of 'Religion and Justice, seek 'their own private Interest.

6. 'Provided that they act 'with Moderation, and according to Law.

Censure] This Proposition is false, seditious, and so cunningly contriv'd, under the Conditions annex'd, that every factious Person may find an Evasion.

Prop. 3.] 'It is not lawful 'for meer private Subjects, 'without a lawful Call, either to rise up in Arms against Tyrants, for fear of 'danger, or to defend themselves against them when 'in danger, or to revenge 'themselves when the danger is over, if they may 'be defended by due course of Law.

Censure] This Proposition is grounded on a false Supposition, and is insidious and seditious.

Prop. 4.] 'If a Tyrant, 'like a Thief or a Ravisher, 'make an Assault on meer 'private Subjects, and they 'can neither have Redress 'by due course of Law, nor 'by any other means escape 'the danger, in such a case 'they may as lawfully defend themselves and theirs, 'against the Tyrant, as against a Robber or Highway-man.

CENSURA

CENSURA] *HÆC Propositio est falsa, periculosa, impia.*

HAS & similes Propositiones, a quocunq; Scriptore defenduntur, ut falsas, impias, & seditiosas condemnat UNIVERSITAS OXONIENSIS: *nec non docet ac defendit secundum Canonem sacrarum Scripturarum, subditos nullo modo vi & armis Regi vel Principi suo resistere debere, nec illis arma vel offensiva vel defensiva in causa Religionis vel alia in re quacunq; contra Regem vel Principem suum, capessere licere.*

DEINDE celebris Cœtus CONVOCATIONIS *Doctorum, Magistrorum Regentium & non Regentium unanimi consensu decrevit, ut singuli Doctores & Magistri Universitatis* Oxoniensis, *una cum Baccalaureis in Jurisprudentia & Medicina subscriberent censuris & Decretis prædictis.*

ET ulterius celebris ille cœtus CONVOCATIONIS *Doctorum, Magistrorum Regentium & non Regentium decrevit, quod singuli ad Gradus in quocunq; Facultate promovendi, ante Admissionem primo subscribant veritati harum censurarum: deinde eodem tempore suscipiant juramentum corporale, se non solum Propositiones prædictas ex animo condemnare & detestari sed etiam*

Censure] This Proposition is false, dangerous and impious.

These, and such like Propositions, by what Writer soever defended, the University of *Oxon* doth condemn as false, impious, and seditious; and doth teach and defend, according to the Canon of Scripture, 'That Subjects, upon no 'account whatever, ought 'to resist their King or 'Prince, by force of Arms; 'and that it is not lawful, 'for the sake of Religion, 'or any other Cause what'soever, to take up Arms, 'offensive or defensive, a'gainst their King or Prince.

This famous Convocation hath likewise decreed, with unanimous Consent, 'That 'every Doctor, and Master 'of the University of *Oxford*, 'and all Bachelors of Law 'and Physick, shall subscribe 'the aforesaid Censures and 'Decrees.

This famous Convocation hath likewise decreed, 'That every one who shall 'hereafter take a degree in 'any Faculty, shall, before 'Admission, first subscribe 'to the Truth of these Cen'sures; and then at the same 'time take an Oath, that 'they do not only from their 'Heart condemn and detest 'the aforesaid Propositions,

condemnaturos & deteſtaturos in perpetuum.

Forma Juramenti ſequitur in hæc verba.

TU jurabis, te ex animo & bonâ fide conſentire decreto CONVOCATIONIS habitæ die Martis, viz. viceſimo quinto die *Junij*, Anno Dom. 1622. ſuper quibuſdam Propoſitionibus falſis, ſeditioſis, impiis, & ibidem damnatis; & quod nullam prædictarum concluſionum, earumve ſententiam docebis, defendes, vel tenebis publicè aut occultè neq; aliquem hujuſmodi doctorem vel defenſorem ope, conſiliô vel favore jurabis, ſed quantum in te eſt impedies, ita te Deus adjuvet, tactis Sacroſanctis Dei Evangeliis.

LIBER Commentariorum DAVIDIS PAREI *in Epiſtolam S.* Pauli *ad* Romanos, *in quo omnes prædictæ, falſæ, impiæ & ſeditioſæ Propoſitiones ab ipſo Pareo proponuntur & defenduntur, die Jovis viz ſexto die menſis* Junij, *Anno Dom.* 1622. *in ſolemni Conventu omnium Doctorum, Præfectorum Collegiorum & Aularum, nec non Prælectorum publicorum dictæ UNIVERSITATIS* OXONIÆ, *authoritate Combuſtus fuit.*

' but will alſo for ever con-
' demn and deteſt them.

The Form of the Oath.

YOU *ſhall Swear upon the Holy Goſpel of God, that you do heartily and truly conſent to the Decree of the Convocation held upon* Tueſday *the* 25*th Day of* June, Anno Dom. 1622. *concerning certain falſe, ſeditious, and impious Propoſitions there condemned; and that you will teach, defend, or hold in publick, or in private, none of the aforeſaid Concluſions or Opinions; and that you will not aſſiſt with help, councel or favour any Teachers or Defenders of ſuch Propoſitions, but will hinder them to the utmoſt of your Power.* So help you God.

David Pareus's Commentaries of St. *Paul's* Epiſtle to the *Romans*, in which all the aforeſaid falſe, impious and ſeditious Propoſitions, are propounded and defended; were, on *Thurſday* the Sixth Day of *June*, *Anno Dom.* 1622. in a ſolemn Meeting of all the Doctors, and Heads of Houſes, and publick Profeſſors of the ſaid Univerſity of *Oxford*, burnt by Authority.

NUMB.

NUMB. VII.

By the KING.

His Majeſty's *Proclamation, forbidding the Tendering, or taking of a late* Covenant, *called, a* Solemn League and Covenant, *for* Reformation, *&c.*

WHereas there is a Printed Paper, Intituled, a *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, for Reformation and defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, *pretended to be* Ordered *by the* Commons *in* Parliament, on the Twenty-firſt Day of *September* laſt paſt, to be Printed and Publiſh'd; which *Covenant*, tho' it ſeems to make *ſpecious Expreſſions of Piety and Religion, is in Truth nothing elſe but a* Traiterous *and Seditious Combination againſt us, and againſt the Eſtabliſhed* Religion, *and Laws of this* Kingdom, *in purſuance of a Traiterous Deſign, and endeavour to bring in* Foreign Force to invade this Kingdom. We do, therefore, ſtraightly Charge and Command *all our Loving Subjects*, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, *upon their* Allegiance, That they preſume not to *take* the *ſaid Seditious and Traiterous* Covenant. *And we do likewiſe hereby forbid and inhibit all our Subjects to Impoſe, Adminiſter, or Tender the ſaid* Covenant, *as they*, and *every one of them, will anſwer to the* contrary, at their *utmoſt and extremeſt Perils.*

Given at our Court at Oxford *this Ninth Day of* October, *in the Ninth Year of our Reign.*

GOD Save the KING.

NUMB. VIII.

The Negative Oath.

I A. B. *do* ſwear *from my Heart, that I will* not directly, nor indirectly, adhere *unto*, or willingly aſſiſt the King in this *War*, or in this *Cauſe, againſt the Parliament, nor* any Forces *raiſed without the Conſent of the TWO Houſes* of *Parliament in this Cauſe or War: And I do likewiſe ſwear, that my* coming and ſubmitting *my ſelf under the Power and Protection of the Parliament, is without any manner of Deſign whatſoever, to the prejudice of the Proceedings of this preſent Parliament, and without the Direction privity, or Advice of the King, or any of his Council or Officers, other than what I have now made known.* So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

The Reaſons of the Univerſity of Oxford *againſt taking the* Negative Oath.

WE are not ſatisfied, how we can ſubmit to the taking of the *Negative Oath.*

1. Without forfeiture of that *Liberty*, which we have ſworn, and are bound to preſerve; with which Liberty we conceive it to be inconſiſtent, that any *Obligation ſhould be* laid *upon the Subject*, by an Oath not eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.

2. Without abjuring *our Natural Allegiance*, and violating the *Oaths of Supremacy* and *Allegiance by us formerly* taken. By all which being bound to our Power to aſſiſt the King, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to *ſwear from our Heart*, not to aſſiſt him.

3. Without Diminution of his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs, contrary to the Third Article of the Covenant, by acknowledging a Power in the two Houſes of Parliament, in Oppoſition to the King's Power. Whereas we

profeſs

profeſs our ſelves unable to underſtand, how there can be any lawful Power exerciſed within this Realm, which is not ſubordinate to the Power of the King.

NUMB. IX.

Engagement.

YOU *ſhall ſwear*, [*or*] *I declare and promiſe, That I will be True and Faithful to the Common-wealth of* England, *as the ſame is now Eſtabliſhed, without King, or Houſe of Lords.*

NUMB. X.

The humble Propoſals of ſundry Divines within this Kingdom, concerning the Engagement *intended to be impos'd on them for their Subſcriptions. Printed in the Year,* 1650.

§ 1.] WE Miniſters of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who have all of us from the beginning faithfully ſerved the Parliament, and have in purſuance of thoſe great and honourable Ends of juſt Liberty and Reformation, ſuffer'd many and grievous things in our Names and Eſtates, from the common Enemy; and to this Day have adhered to our firſt Principles; and do ſtill promiſe in our Places and Stations, to maintain the Peace of this Nation, and to pay Obedience to the Laws thereof, conceiving it our Duty in ſuch a time as this, in all ways of Meekneſs and Humility to endeavour the Preſervation of our inward Peace and outward Safety, *being ſtreightned in Conſcience upon the caſe of the Engagement*, do humbly offer theſe enſuing Particulars.

§ 2.] 1. *That altho' we hold our ſelves bound by our former ſolemn Covenants and Engagements, in that Senſe of them wherein they were by publick Authority impoſed on us, yet being convinced of* the neceſſity of Civil Government in a Land, for the Preſervation of Humane Society, and Prevention of all thoſe Evils which the Outrages of wicked Men unreſtrained would produce, and upon mature Deliberation conſidering, That when the wiſe and holy Providence of God (whoſe Judgments are unſearchable, and Ways paſt finding out) ſhall at any time ſo ſhake the Foundations of States and Kingdoms, as to diſable one Government from affording Protection and Preſervation, and to admit any other to obtain it; it is not then ſtrange to the Will of God, Light of Nature, Judgment of the Learned, and Practice of Chriſtians in former Ages, nor to our own Principles, or former Engagements, to live quietly and peaceably in our Places and Callings, *and to ſubmit to ſuch things as are impoſed upon, or required of us, by the Powers which are in actual Poſſeſſion, being things in themſelves lawful and neceſſary to the Preſervation of our ſelves and others.* (for this we conceive may be done without diſputing the Right and Title of thoſe that are in Place of Magiſtracy) we do upon theſe Premiſes declare, that *we will accordingly* behave our ſelves.

§ 3.] 2. That we do humbly conceive, that there is a *great difference between theſe* things *and a* Subſcription *to this Engagement, in the* Words wherein it is requir'd, and that in diverſe Reſpects.

1ſt, This Subſcription *(as to our Conſciences) doth imply,* an Approbation of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, *as effected by a full and free Authority.*

2dly, An active Concurrence, and as it were a ratifying Conſent of the People thereunto, it having been declared, that the Original of all juſt Power is in the People.

3dly, An Obligation, *to act at all Times, in all Places and Capacities,* to the promoting and ſtrengthning of it, and not only of it (but by a Parity of Reaſon) of any other, which by the poſſible Advantage of Power, may at any time hereafter, even to the Prejudice and Ruin of this, ſet up it ſelf, *and then require of us the like* Subſcription.

§ 4.] 3. Being by this *Engagement* bound up to theſe Particulars, as the Words ſeem to import, we *further conceive,*

ceive, That we ſhall by this Subſcription, *violate* thoſe former *Engagements*, in Oaths, Proteſtations, and in the ſolemn League and Covenant, wherein we were by the former Commands of Parliament obliged, in which laſt Particular, if the time we enter'd into it be conſider'd, *viz.* in the Day of our Extremity, or the Religious Solemnity, with Hands lifted up to the moſt high God; or the matter of it, which is comprehenſive of things Sacred and Civil, and particularly of the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; or the Senſe wherein we then took it; or the Aſſeveration, that we would never be drawn from it, by any Terror or Combination whatſoever; or the durable Obligation which we brought upon our ſelves by it, even all the Days of our Lives; or the Conſiderations which we had before our Eyes in the taking of it; namely, the Glory of God, the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Happineſs of the King and his Poſterity. Theſe things being duly conſider'd, do leave ſuch an awful Impreſſion on our Conſciences, that unleſs the Conſiſtency thereof with this *Engagement* be made unqueſtionably clear unto us, it cannot but render our Conſciences trembling and doubtful, and ſo the act of Engaging, by the Apoſtles Rule, to us unlawful, as by a Parity of Reaſon it would have been undoubtedly inconſiſtent with our *Covenant*, to have ſubſcribed an *Engagement* to the King and Lords, without the Commons of *England*, if it ſhould by their Agreement and Authority, have been required of us.

§ 5.] 4. Theſe things being conſider'd in the Nature of the *Engagement*, and in the full Relation to which it ſtands in the former *Engagements*, cannot in our Judgments but miniſter matter of general Scandal and Offence to multitudes of Men, both good and bad, many of whom being not able to make, or haply ſo much as underſtand ſubtile Diſtinctions, whereby Guilt may either be evaded or palliated, will look upon us as Breakers of our *Oaths* and *Covenants*, as Prævaricators of the moſt ſacred and ſolemn things, as Men of ductile Spirits, and proſtituted Conſciences, led by the Principles of *Fear* or *Intereſt*; which Prejudice (tho' we would grant were more founded in the Ignorance and Miſtakes of theſe Men, than any ſolid and juſt Reaſons) would yet groſly wound the Goſpel,

expoſe

expoſe our Miniſtry to Scorn, (the Honour whereof ought to be dearer to us than our Lives) endanger the Reputation, and ſo weaken the Power of it in the Conſciences of our Hearers, who through Fear, or other private Ends, may themſelves have ſubſcribed, yet we cannot but believe, but CHRIST would be a greater Looſer by our Subſcription, than the State can any way be a Gainer by it: We deſire always to keep in mind the Noble Reſolution of the Apoſtle, who would not, in caſe of Scandal, uſe his own juſt Power, but choſe rather to ſuffer all things, leſt he ſhould hinder the Goſpel of Chriſt; and concluded, it was better for him to Die, than that any in that behalf ſhould make his glorying void. Upon theſe, and ſuch like Grounds, purely Conſciencious, and not out of any private Intereſt or Deſign, contrary to the Peace of this *Common-wealth*, we are neceſſitated to forbear Subſcriptions, until either by ſolemn Debate of the *Engagement*, (as of the *Covenant*) or otherwiſe, our Conſciences ſhall be cleared of important Scruples.

Here is a hole left to creep out at at laſt.

§ 6.] So we crave leave further to repreſent, That our former Governors (not duly conſidering that Men even in higheſt Authority, as well as others, are by the Doctrin of the Scriptures concerning Scandal, bound to avoid the laying of Snares and Stumbling-blocks in the way of their Brethren) have not only attempted (as in their late Canons) to impoſe an inſnaring Oath, but alſo inforced Subſcriptions on many Godly and Learned Miniſters, to the utter undoing of themſelves and Families; and that with ſuch Rigour, that the beginning of King *James*'s Government was with the Deprivation of 3 or 400 of them; and tho' we ſhall not take upon us to charge upon that Severity of theirs the Conſequences which have follow'd, yet we may offer this Obſervation, That ſundry Examples may be given of Governors, who have laid the unhappy Foundation of enſuing Evils to themſelves and their People, in the beginning of their Government.

§ 7.] And therefore we do preſume, that thoſe in preſent Power (according to their profeſſed Principles and Reſolutions, to have reſpect to tender Conſciences) will not enforce us to the ſad *Dilemna* of chuſing either Sin or Affliction; and hope that the many Years Experience of our quiet

quiet Behaviour, and faithful Service, may give them a better assurance and security for our peaceable Conversation, than the fained Subscriptions of very many, who profess themselves not engaged by this Engagement, but use it as a protection of their Estates, and a covert under which they hide and keep warm their former malignity, and who certainly would rejoice at, and take the advantage of that sad Division which is likely to ensue, amongst those who have co-operated in the common Cause of Reformation and just Liberty.

§. 8. *We being at present shut up under such Considerations as these, do humbly beseech those in present* Power, *not to compel us (whose Reputation is as necessary for others, as a good Conscience for our selves) to draw reproach upon Religion, and vilify the Reputation of the Ministry, by which the Service of Jesus Christ is advanced, and cause others to think we esteem Oaths as changeable as Opinions, and so brand us with the odious Mark of EQUIVOCATION and PREVARICATION, subject us to the Contempt and Hate* of all, as Men of loose and uncertain Principles, lay foundations to our selves of subscribing any thing hereafter upon the same Grounds, and that unto these things we may not be enforced by so high and heavy a Penalty as to be outlaw'd of our Birth-right, which is a punishment too heavy to be inflicted for no Crime; and as we conceive, can hardly be exampled to have been inflicted on any but Persons of infamous note, with whom (we may speak without vanity) we have not deserved to be numbred, until by wilful violation of the Laws, we deprive our selves of their Protection, and forfeit the benefit of them.

Some

Some Political and Theological Obſervations, taken out of Mr. Prinn's Legal and Hiſtorical Vindication of the Liberties, Rights and Laws of *England*. p. 390, *&c.*

THat right Heirs to Crowns, who are of tender Years, weak Judgment, or impotent Friends and Purſe, are eaſily and frequently put by their Rights, by bold, active, and powerful Intruders, as *Edgar Atheling* was both by *Harold* and *William* ſucceſſively, *&c.*

That baſe carnal Fears and Cowardice, oft cauſe both Prelates, Nobles and People, to deſert their own beſt Intereſt, and lawful Princes, and to Act, Vote, and Submit to meer unrighteous Uſurpers, againſt their primitive Reſolutions, Judgments, Conſciences; as in the Caſe of *Edgar*, and *Richard* III. ſince.

That Generals puffed up with victorious Succeſſes, and having the Command of the Land and Sea Forces in their Power, are apt to aſpire after the Royal Crown and Sovereignty, and forcibly to uſurp it upon the next occaſion, even with the Diſinheriting of the *Right Heir*, and hazard of the whole Realm; of which *Harald* is a moſt pregnant Inſtance.

That ambitious Aſpirers after the Royal Crown and Throne, will make no Conſcience to violate all Sacred and Civil *Oaths*, Obligations, Contracts, and find out any Evaſion to elude them, rather than go without them, or part with them when injuriouſly uſurp'd by them; and will adventure to crown themſelves with their own Hands, than not wear the Diadem; witneſs *Harold*.

That Uſurpers of Crowns without Right, tho' they court the People with Coronation Oaths, and fair Promiſes of good Laws, Liberty, Immunity from all Taxes and Grievances, yet uſually prove the greateſt Tyrants and Oppreſſors to them of all others; as *Harold* and *William* in ſome ſort did.

That Invaders of Crowns and Sovereign Power, without any Right, Title, or Colour of Juſtice, being once

in

in poſſeſſion, will never part with them to thoſe who have better Right, upon any verbal Treaties, but rather adventure their Lives, Bodies, Souls and their whole Kingdoms utter Ruin, than part with their uſurp'd Supremacy.

That the moſt unrighteous Uſurpers of the Royal Throne by apparent *Perjury*, Fraud, Force, Treachery, will feign, forge, publiſh ſome ſpecious Pretext or other of Title, or *Popular Election*, to palliate or extenuate their *Intruſions*; to avoid the Infamy of *Tyrants* and *Uſurpers*, and take off the *Odium* of their moſt unrighteous Intruſions; of which we ſee Foot-ſteps, both in *Harold*, *William* then, and *Richard* III. ſince.

That unjuſt Invaders of Crowns, for the moſt part, bring many Miſeries, Troubles, Wars and Ruins, not only on themſelves and their Poſterities, but likewiſe on their Kingdoms and People, as *Harold* did.

That Royal Uſurpers, when they are moſt ſucceſsful, inſolent and ſecure (as *Harold* after his Victory in the North) are neareſt greateſt Dangers and Ruin.

That ſuch Uſurpers are commonly very vigilant and induſtrious to preſerve their own Intereſt and Power, under pretext of the *Common Defence* and Safety of the Nation; yet more rely on their *Mercenary Forces*, than *Unmercinary Militia* of the Nation.

That Uſurpers, tho' they may have many Flatterers, and ſeeming Friends to write and act for them, whilſt in Proſperity, yet are commonly generally deſerted both by Nobles, People, yea their own endeared Friends and Kindred in their greateſt dangers, when they need them moſt, as *Harold* was.

That few *Engliſh* Nobles, Gentry or Commons, will readily adventure their Lives in a Uſurper's Quarrel, when and where his Title ſtands in competition with a better and clearer Right; as moſt of them Deſerted *Harold*.

That the *Reign* of *Perjur'd* Invaders of others Thrones, is commonly very ſhort, full of Wars, Troubles, Fears, Jealouſies, and their End for the moſt part Bloody, Tragical, as was *Harold*'s and *Richard* III.

That

That when God has design'd a *Perjur'd* Usurper's, or Nations ruin for their crying Sins, he suddenly stirs up unexpected Enemies and Instruments to Effect occasions to facilitate it, and so infatuates them that they become gether uncapable of any good Advice; as *Harold* obstinately did.

That none are more froward publickly to appeal to God himself for to judge and decide the Justice of their Cause and Proceedings, then the most *perjurious* and unrighteous *Usurpers*.

That God sooner or later doth usually avenge in an exemplary manner the *Perjurious* wilful breach of *Solemn Oaths*.

That *perjur'd* Persons fighting in a Cause directly against their Corporal *Oaths*, can expect no other success in Battle, but either Flight or Death.

That base carnal Fears, in times of imminent danger, usually disjoint those Persons, Counsels, Forces, whom the common danger should more unite, and make them desert the probablest means of their publick Preservation, Liberty, Peace, Settlement, by setting up the *Right Heir* of the Crown (as *Edgar* here) against the Intrusions and Pretences of all usurping Invaders of the Sovereign Power.

That a few timerous Counsellors, Great Persons, or Clergy Men, in times of danger, are apt to disappoint the magnanimous Resolutions, and daunt the Heroical Spirits of such who are most cordially affected both to their native Country, Laws, Liberties, and Right Heir to the Crown; and to draw them to unworthy compliances with them against both.

That stout, resolute, real Patrons of their native Country, Laws and Liberties, will then appear most cordially zealous to protect, own, and fight for them, when they are in greatest danger to be lost.

That no Age or Person ever yet reputed Conquest a just, safe, prudent Title or Pretext to the Crown of *England*, but ever disclaim'd it, as most absurd and dangerous to their Interest.

That the *Murdering* or *Disinheriting* of the *Right Heir* to the Crown, hath been the principal occasion and ground-

ground-work of all the great, ſad Revolutions of Government in this Iſland.

That when *Treachery*, *Perjury*, *Oppreſſion*, *Murder*, *Violence*, and other Sins forementionʼd have generally overſpread the Kingdom, and infected all ſorts and degrees of Men, then national Judgments, Foreign Invaſions, Publick Revolutions of Governors and Government, yea all ſorts of Calamities, Wars, Troubles may be juſtly feared, expected, inflicted, as Fruits, Puniſhments of theſe epidemical crying Tranſgreſſions.

That Traitors to, and Murderers of their lawful Sovereigns, uſurping their Crowns, bring commonly great fearful Judgments on the whole Kingdom and Nation, in caſe they comply with them therein. *Id. pt.* 2. *p.* 36.

That *Vortigerns* Treaſon in murdering his Sovereigns and uſurping their Crowns, was the occaſion of, and puniſhed with the long-laſting Wars with the *Picts* and *Saxons*, yea the original Cauſe of the great Revolution of the Government, Kingdom and Country of *Britain* from the *Britons* to the *Saxons*.

That altho' a bloody uſurping Traitor may reign and deprive the *Right Heir* of the Crown for many Years, yet his Reign is uſually full of Wars, Vexations, Dangers, Troubles; his End tragical, and the *Right Heir* called in and reſtored by the People themſelves at laſt, as *Aurelius Ambroſius* was after twenty one Years Uſurpation of his Right, and *Joaſh* in the ſeventh Year of *Athaliah*'s Uſurpation, 2 *Chron.* 23.

That Uſurpers are apt to depreſs the Nobility and oppreſs the Natives of the Realm, for fear they ſhould oppoſe their Tyranny and dethrone them.

That all Hereſies, Vices, Contempt of God and Religion, uſually ſpring up and overſpread the Realm under Uſurpers, who give publick Countenance to them to pleaſe all Sides, to ſupport unjuſt Authority over them.

That it is very dangerous to call in foreign Forces upon any Neceſſity into a Kingdom, as aſſiſtants, who commonly prove worſe Enemies in Concluſion than thoſe they are called to oppoſe.

That

That all mercinary Guards and Soldiers (eſpecially Foreigners) are for the moſt part very Treacherous and Perfidious, forcibly ſuppreſſing, ſupplanting, deſtroying thoſe Princes and Nations they are hired to guard and protect.

That Lawful and Hereditary Kings are the chiefeſt Patrons of God, Miniſters, Churches, Religion; and the death of ſuch (when Religious, Juſt and Valiant) the greateſt loſs and miſery that can befal a Nation.

That all Subjects are obliged to defend, with their Arms and Lives, their native Country and lawful Kings, againſt Invaders and Uſurpers.

Biſhop Sanderſon's *Caſe of the Engage.* p. 90.

" Allegiance is a duty that every " Subject, under what form of Go- " vernment ſoever, by the Law of " Nature, owes to his Country, and " conſequently to the Sovereign " Power thereof ——. So that the bond of Allegiance " doth not ariſe originally from the Oath of Allegiance, " but it is ſo intrinſical, proper and eſſential a duty and " (as it were) fundamental, to the relation of a Subject, " *qua talis*, as that the very name of a Subject doth, af- " ter a ſort, import it, inſomuch that it has thereupon " gain'd, in common uſage of Speech, the Style of Na- " tural Allegiance"; whence all theſe Inferences follow.

1. *That the Bond of Allegiance (whether ſworn or not ſworn) is in the nature of it perpetual and indiſpenſable.*

2. *That it is ſo inſeparable from the relation of a Subject, that altho' the exerciſe* of it may be *ſuſpended, by reaſon of a prevailing force—— yet no outward force can ſo abſolutely take it away, or remove it,* but that ſtill it remains vertually in the Subject, and obligeth to an endeavour (ſo ſoon as the force that hindred it is over) of actually exerciſing of it, for the advantage of the Party, to whom of right it is due, and the advancement of the common good thereby, upon all fit occaſions.

3. That no Subject of *England*, that either hath, by taking the Oaths of *Supremacy*, or *Allegiance*, acknowledged, or that not having taken either Oath, yet otherwiſe knows, or believes, that the *Sovereign Power* in *England*;

land, to whom his *Natural Allegiance* is due, is the *King*, his *Heirs*, and *lawful Succeſſors*, can without ſinning againſt his Conſcience, enter into any *Covenant*, *Promiſe*, or *Engagement*, or do any other *Act*, or *Acts* whatſoever, whereby either to transfer his Allegiance to any other Party, to whom it is not of right due, or to put himſelf into an incapacity of performing the Duties of his *bounden Allegiance* to his lawful Sovereign, when it may appear to be uſeful and ſerviceable to him.

4. That therefore the taking of the late *Solemn League and Covenant*, by any Subject of *England*—— was an act as clear contrary to the *Oath of Allegiance*, and the *Natural Duty* of every Subject of *England*; as the *Aſſiſting of the King to the utmoſt of ones Power* (which is a branch of the Oaths) and the aſſiſting againſt any Perſon whatſoever, with his utmoſt Power, thoſe that were actually in Arms againſt the King—— are contrary the one unto the other.

5. And that alſo for the ſame reaſon, no Subject of *England*, that hath taken the Oaths, and underſtands them, or is perſuaded that the Sovereignty of this Realm doth of right belong to the King, his Heirs, and *Lawful Succeſſors*, can without ſinning in like *manner againſt* his Conſcience, take the Engagement now offer'd, if he ſo underſtand the Words, wherein it is expreſſed, as if they did contain in them, and require of the Promiſer, an acknowledgment that the Supreme Power of this Realm, whereunto the *Subjects owe their bounden Allegiance*, is *rightly veſted in thoſe Perſons that now exerciſe it*; *or as if they did import an utter Abjuration*, *or Renouncing of that Allegiance*, which was formerly held due to the King.

The Addreſs of the Univerſity of Cambridge, *preſented to the King* [Charles II.] *September* 18. 1681.

Sacred Sir,

WE your Majeſty's moſt faithful and obedient Subjects of the Univerſity of *Cambridge, have long, with the greateſt and ſincereſt Joy, beheld what we hope* is in *ſome meaſure the effect of our own Prayers, the generous Emulation of our fellow Subjects, contending who ſhould firſt and beſt expreſs* their Duty and Gratitude to their Sovereign; at *this time eſpecially,* when *the Seditious Endeavours of unreaſonable Men have made it neceſſary to aſſert the antient Loyalty of the* Engliſh *Nation,* and made the World *ſenſible that we do not degenerate from thoſe Prime Glories of our* Anceſtors, Love and Allegiance to our Prince.

That we were not ſeen in thoſe loyal Crowds, but choſe rather to ſtand by and applaud their honeſt and religious Zeal, we humbly preſume will not be imputed to the want of it in our ſelves, either by your Majeſty or your People. For, Sir, it is (at preſent) the great Honour of this your Univerſity, not only to be ſtedfaſt and *conſtant in our Duty,* but to be eminently ſo, *and to ſuffer for it, as much as the Calumnies and Reproaches* of factious and malicious Men can inflict upon us: And that they have been hitherto able to do no more than vent the Venom of *their Tongues; that they have not proceeded to Plunder and Sequeſtration, to violate* our *Chappels, rifle our Libraries,* and empty our Colleges, as once they did, next to the *over-ruling Providence of Almighty* God, is *only due to the royal Care and Prudence of your moſt Sacred Majeſty, who gave ſo ſeaſonable* a Check to the arbitrary *and inſolent Undertakings.*

But no earthly Power, we hope, no Menaces or Miſery, ſhall ever be able to make us renounce or forget our Duty. We will ſtill believe and maintain, That our Kings derive *not their Titles from the People, but from God, and to him only*

only they are accountable; that it belongs not to Subjects, either to create or cenſure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be ſo by a Fundamental, Hereditary Right of *Succeſſion*, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or *diminiſh*.

Nor will we ever abate of our well-inſtructed Zeal for our moſt holy *Religion*, as it is profeſſed and eſtabliſhed by Law in the Church of *England*; that Church which hath ſo long *ſtood, and* ſtill *is the envy and terror of her Adverſaries, as well* as the Beauty and Strength of the Reformation.

It is thus, dread Sir, that we have learned our own, and thus we teach others their Duty to God, and the King: In the conſcientious diſcharge of both which, we have been ſo long protected and encouraged by your Majeſty's moſt juſt and gracious *Government, that we neither need nor* deſire *any other Declaration than that Experience,* for our aſſurance and ſecurity for the future.

In all which grace and goodneſs, Great Sir, we have nothing to return; we bring no Names and Seals, no Lives and Fortunes, *well capable of your Majeſty's Service, or at all worthy of your Acceptance, nothing but Hearts and Prayers, Vows of a zealous and laſting Loyalty; our Selves and* Studies, all that *we can, or ever ſhall be able to perform, which we here moſt ſincerely promiſe and moſt humbly tender at your Majeſty's Feet, a mean and worthleſs preſent; but ſuch a one as we hope, will not be diſdained by the moſt gracious and indulgent Prince* that Heaven ever beſtowed upon a People.

A Letter written to my Lord Ruſſel *in* Newgate, *July* 20. 1683.

My Lord,

I Was heartily glad to ſee your Lordſhip this Morning in that calm and devout Temper at the receiving of the Bleſſed Sacrament; but Peace of Mind, unleſs it be well grounded, will avail little: And becauſe tranſient

Diſcourſe many times hath little effect, for want of time to weigh and conſider it, therefore in tender Compaſſion of your Lordſhip's Caſe, and from all the good will that one Man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your Lordſhips deliberate thoughts, theſe following Conſiderations, *concerning the Points of Reſiſtance, if our Religion and Rights ſhould* be *invaded*, as your Lordſhip puts the Caſe; concerning which, I underſtand by Dr. *B.* that your Lordſhip had once received *Satisfaction, and am ſorry to find a change.*

Firſt, *That the Chriſtian Religion doth plainly forbid the Reſiſtance of Authority.*

Secondly, That tho' our Religion be eſtabliſh'd by Law, (which your *Lordſhip urges as a difference between our Caſe and that of the Primitive Chriſtians*) yet in *the ſame Law which eſtabliſhes our Religion, it is declared, That it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms*, &c. Beſides that, there is a particular *Law, declaring the Power of the Militia to be ſolely* in the *King*: *and that ties the Hands of Subjects, tho' the Law of Nature, and the general Rules of Scripture* had *left us* at *liberty; which I believe they do not, becauſe the Government and Peace of Humane Society could not well ſubſiſt upon* theſe *Terms.*

Thirdly, *Your Lordſhip's Opinion is contrary to the declared Doctrin of all Proteſtant Churches; and tho' ſome particular Perſons have taught otherwiſe, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Proteſtants. And I beg your Lordſhip to conſider, how it will agree with an avowed aſſerting of the Proteſtant Religion, to go* contrary to the *general Doctrin of Proteſtants. My end in this is to convince your Lordſhip, that you are in a very GREAT and DANGEROUS Miſtake, and being ſo convinced, that which before was a Sin of Ignorance, will appear of much more heinous Nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep Repentance; which if your Lordſhip ſincerely exerciſe upon the ſight of your Error, by a Penitent acknowledgment of it to God and Men,* you *will not only obtain Forgiveneſs of God, but prevent a mighty SCANDAL to the REFORMED RELIGION. I am very loath to give your Lordſhip any* diſquiet in the diſtreſs you are in, which I *Commiſerate from my Heart; but am much*

more

more concerned, that you do not leave the World in a Delusion, and false Peace, to the hindrance of your Eternal Happiness.

I heartily pray for you, and beseech your Lordship to believe that I am, with the greatest Sincerity and Compassion in the World;

My LORD,

Your Lordships most faithful and afflicted Servant,

J. Tillotson.

Judicium & Decretum UNIVERSITATIS OXONIENSIS Latum in Convocatione habita, Jul. 21. An. 1683.

QUanquam parricidale facinus in Sacrum serenissimi Principis, & illustrissimi Fratris ejus caput nuper designatum, omnem nostram sollicitudinem deposcat, qua tam flagitiosum nefas Deo pariter & hominibus invisum, debita detestatione prosequamur; & dignas clementissimo numini gratias reddamus, cujus singulari providentia comparatum est, quod Spiritus oris nostri Christus Domini non sit captus in laqueis ipsi positis, sed in umbra ejus nobis etiamnum vivere & superstites esse contigerit: Partium tamen no-

The Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford, *past in Convocation,* July 21. 1683.

ALtho' the barbarous Assassination lately enterpriz'd against the Person of his Sacred Majesty and his Royal Brother, engage all our Thoughts to reflect with utmost detestation and abhorence of that execrable villany, hateful to God and Man, and pay our due acknowledgments to the Divine Providence, which by extraordinary Methods brought it to pass, that the breath of our Nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, is not taken in the Pit which was prepared for him; and that

ſtrarium eſſe ducimus altius mentis acem defigere in impia illa Dogmata, quæ nuper ſummo ſtudio in publicum Sparſa, nefarios iſtis molitionibus cauſas & fomenta dedere; eademq; juſtis cenſuris ſubjicere publicoq; decreto damnare & confodere.

Itaq; ad honorem Sanctæ & individuæ Trinitatis, & ad Catholicæ Doctrinæ veritatem in Eccleſia conſervandam; porro ut Regia Majeſtas non ſolum a perditiſſimorum hoſtium-que ſed quorumcunq; Schiſmaticorum inſidiis ſarta tecta maneat, frequenti Convocationis Senatu die Julii 21. An. 1683 nos Vice-Cancellarius, Doctores, Procuratores, Magiſtri Regentes & non Regentes, more & loco conſuetis Convocati; unanimi conſenſu & aſſenſu, ſuper quibuſdam propoſitionibus quæ in libris ſcriptiſque tam idiomate Latino quam Vernaculo publice Editis atq; evulgatis continentur; quæq; non ſolum Divino Canoni, Decretis Conciliorum, ſcriptis Patrum, & primitivæ Eccleſiæ fidei & profeſſioni repugnant & contrariantur; ſed inſuper Monarchicum regimen, Perſonam Sacratiſſimæ Regiæ Ma-

under his ſhadow we continue to live, and enjoy the Bleſſing of his Government; yet notwithſtanding we find it to be a neceſſary duty, at this time to ſearch into, and lay open thoſe impious Doctrines, which having of late been ſtudiouſly diſſeminated, gave riſe and growth to thoſe nefarious attempts, and paſs upon them our ſolemn publick Cenſure and Decree of Condemnation.

Therefore to the honour of the holy and undivided Trinity, the preſervation of Catholick Truth in the Church, and that the Kings Majeſty may be ſecured from the attempts of open and bloody Enemies, and the machinations of Traiterous Hereticks and Schiſmaticks; We, the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, Proctors, and Maſters, Regent and not Regent met in Convocation in the accuſtomed manner, Time and Place, on Saturday the 21ſt of *July*, in the Year 1683. concerning certain Propoſitions contained in diverſe Books and Writings publiſh'd in *Engliſh*, and alſo in the *Latin* Tongue, repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, Decrees of Councils, Writings of the Fathers, the Faith and Profeſſion of the

jeſtatis,

jeſtatis, pacem publicam, & naturæ ipſius Leges & humanæ ſocietatis vincula ſubruunt & convellunt; Decrevimus in formulam ſubſequentem.

Propoſitio 1. *Populus eſt fons & origo Poteſtatis omnis Civilis.*

2. *Inter Principem & ſubditos pactum ſemper* vel expreſſum *vel tacitum intercedit, & ſi Princeps deſit officio ſuo, ſubditi pactione ſua non amplius obligantur.*

3. *Si juſta & legitima poteſtas migret in tyrannidem,* aut *ſecus* geratur quam ex lege Divina & humana *oportet; amiſſo omni jure, ad imperandum, abrogatur.*

Lex Rex. Buch. de jure Regni apud Scotos, Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Bellarmin. *de Conciliis &* Pontifice. Dolman, Milton, Goodwin, Baxt. *R. S.*

4. *Suprema apud Anglos* poteſtas eſt trium Ordinum, viz. Regis, procerum, & plebis. Rex *co-ordinata tantum poteſtate præditus reliquis minor.*

Lex Rex. Harring. de Monarchia limitata & mixta. *Baxter. Polit. Cat.*

Primitive Church; and alſo deſtructive of the kingly Government, the ſafety of his Majeſty's Perſon, the Publick Peace, the Laws of Nature, and Bonds of Human Society: By our unanimous aſſent and conſent, have decreed and determined in manner and form following:

Propoſit. 1. All Civil Authority is derived originally from the People.

2. There is a mutual compact, tacit or expreſs, between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if he perform not his Duty, they are diſcharg'd from theirs.

3. That if lawful Governors become Tyrants, or govern otherwiſe than by the Laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their Government.

4. The Sovereignty of *England* is in the three Eſtates, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons. The King has but a co-ordinate Power, and may be over-ruled by the other two.

5. Nec primogenitura, nec Sanguinis proximitas, *jus* ad regnum conferunt, licetq; proximum *hæredem à Successione in imperium prohibere.*

Lex Rex. Hunt. *Postscr.* Dolman. Hist. Succes. Julian Apost. Mene Tekel.

5. Birthright and Proximity of Blood give no title to Rule or Government, and it is lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right of Succession to the Crown.

6. *Licet, subditis, non modo non consentiente, sed prohibente supremo magistratu, in sui & religionis defensionem, inire ligas, pacisci fœdera, conjurataſq; associationes conflare.*

Solennis Liga & Fœdus. Nupera associatio.

6. It is lawful for Subjects, without the consent, and against the command of the supreme Magistrate to enter into Leagues, Covenants and Associations, for defence of themselves and their Religion.

7. *Sui conservatio, est primaria & fundamentalis naturæ Lex, omniumq; aliarum legum, cum ista pugnantium obligationem tollit.*

Hobbesius de Cive, Leviathan.

7. Self-preservation is the fundamental Law of Nature, and supersedes the Obligation of all others, whenever they stand in competition with it.

8. *Doctrina Evangelica de tolerandis injuriis non prohibet vi & armis resistere Magistratui Religionem violenter oppugnanti.*

Lex Rex. Julian. Apost. Apologet. Relat.

8. The Doctrine of the Gospel concerning patient suffering of Injuries, is not inconsistent with violent resisting of the higher Powers in case of Persecution for Religion.

9. *Christiani non tenentur ad obedientiam passivam, quoties Princeps contra leges & jura Reip. aliquid imperat*; atq; primævi Christiani ea tantum de causa pati, quam resistere maluere, quod Religio *Christiana nondum es-*

There lies no obligation upon Christians to Passive Obedience, when the Prince commands any thing against the Laws of our Country; and the Primitive Christians chose rather to dye than resist, because Christianity

set

ſet Imperatoriis legibus ſancita.

Julian. Apoſt.

10. Poſſeſſio & potentia conferunt jus Imperii *(a)* cujuſq; cauſæ bonitatem & æquitatem indicat & confirmat ſucceſſus, quem urgere eſt *Divinæ voluntati obſequi* & Providentiæ ductum ſequi *(b)*.

(a) Hobbeſius. *(b)* Owen concio coram Regicidis, Jan. 31. 1648. *Baxt. Jenkyns Libel. ſupplex, Octobr.* 1651.

11. *Secundum* naturam nullum *eſt boni malig; nullum juſti & iniqui diſcrimen; & ſtatus Naturæ eſt ſtatus belli, in quo cuilibet jus competit ad omnia.*

12. *In hoc jure naturali fundatur jus Civile, ſingulis cum Societatem ineunt, jure ſuo magiſtratui cedentibus, qua ceſſione magiſtratui non tam datum quam relictum eſt jus ſuum naturale. Nec modo peregrinus hoſtis, ſed & rebellis domeſticus in ſtatum Naturæ redit, & puniendus eſt non jure Civitatis, ſed jure belli*; & proinde perduellione ſua par jus in vitam Principis conſequitur, atq; Princeps in vitam ſui ſubditi atrociſſimo ſcelere damnati.

was not yet ſetled by the Laws of the Empire.

10. Poſſeſſion and ſtrength give a right to govern, and ſucceſs in a Cauſe or Enterprize proclains it to be lawful and juſt; to purſue it is to follow the Conduct of his Providence.

11. In the ſtate of Nature there is no difference between good and evil, right and wrong; the ſtate of Nature is a ſtate of War, in which every Man hath a right to all things.

12. The Foundation of Civil Authority is this natural Right, which is not given, but left to the ſupream Magiſtrate upon Mens entring into Societies, and not only a foreign Invader, but a domeſtick Rebel puts himſelf again into a ſtate of Nature, to be proceeded againſt not as a Subject but an Enemy, and conſequently acquires by his Rebellion the ſame right over the life of his Prince, as the Prince for the moſt heinous Crimes has over the Life of his own Subjects.

13. *Etiam*

13. *Etiam ſocietate inita cuilibet manet jus ſemetipſum contra vim qualemcunq; defendendi; nec poteſt in Remp. conſentiens, jus illud ullo modo in Rempublicam transferre. Quod ſi magna vis hominum ita dudum obſtiterit magiſtratui, ut ex lege ſingulis mortem metuant, continuo licet illis junctis viribus ſe tueri; & vis iſta quæ primam officii violationem ſubſequitur, licet eam tueatur, non tamen peccat de novo, & ſi ad vitæ conſervationem dirigatur; non peccat omnino.*

13. Every Man after his entring into a Society retains a right of defending himſelf againſt Force, and cannot transfer that right to the Common-wealth, when he conſents to that Union whereby a Commonwealth is made; and in caſe a great many Men together have already reſiſted the Commonwealth, for which every one of them expecteth Death, they have liberty then to join together to aſſiſt and defend one another. Their bearing of Arms ſubſequent to the firſt breach of their duty, tho' it be to maintain what they have done, is no new unjuſt act, and if it be only to defend their Perſons, is not unjuſt at all.

14. *Juramentum nihil ſuperaddit obligationi quæ oritur ex pacto, pactumq; eatenus obligat, quatenus fides habetur promittenti.* Quocirca ſi Princeps quoviſmodo indicet ſe ſubditis fidelitatem promittentibus non credere, illi hoc ipſo ſubjectione liberantur, neq; obſtant pacta & juramenta quo minus jure contra Principem inſurgant, eumq; regno & vita exuant. Hobbeſius de Cive. Leviathan.

14. An Oath ſuperadds no obligation to Pact, and a Pact obliges no farther than it is credited; and conſequently if a Prince gives any indication that he does not believe the promiſes of Fealty and Allegiance made by any of his Subjects, they are thereby freed from their Subjection, and notwithſtanding their Pacts and Oaths may lawfully rebel againſt, and deſtroy their Sovereign.

15. *Si Populus officio & juramento principi obſtrictus,*

15. If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged

illum

illum regno nefarie & injuſta vi deturbet, & contra fidem & religionem Sacramenti ſui, cum alio fœdus faciat, poteſt hic Populus, pactione prima inſuper habita, poſteriore teneri.

Baxter. R. S.

16. *Juramentum omne illicitum eſt, & Verbo Dei contrarium.*

Quaker.

17. *Obligatio juramenti non ex intentione deferentis, ſed ſuſcipientis æſtimanda eſt.*

Vice-comitum Londinenſium Cauſa.

18. *Dominium fundatur in gratia.*

19. *Poteſtates ſeculares Jeſu Chriſti prærogativam uſurpant, & oportet populum Dei illas omnes exterminare ut Chriſto regnum deferant, eumq; Collocent in Solio ſuo.*

Quintæ Monarchiæ aſſertores univerſim.

20. *Regimen Presbyterianum eſt ſceptrum regni Jeſu Chriſti, cui reges perinde ſubditi ſemet ſubmittere tenentur; & poteſtas Regia in cauſis Eccleſiaſticis quam aſſerit Eccleſia Anglicana, eſt Chriſto contumelioſa, qui ſolus eſt Rex & Caput Eccleſiæ ſuæ.*

Altare Damaſcenum. Apologet. Relat. Hiſt. Indul. Cartwright Travers.

to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and, contrary to their Covenant chuſe, and covenant with another, they may be obliged by their latter Covenant, notwithſtanding their former.

16. All Oaths are unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God.

17. An Oath obliges not in the ſenſe of the Impoſer, but the takers.

18. Dominion is founded in Grace.

19. The Powers of this World are Uſurpations upon the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt, and it is the Duty of God's People to deſtroy them, in order to the ſetting Chriſt upon his Throne.

20. The Presbyterian Government is the Scepter of Chriſt's Kingdom, to which Kings as well as others, are bound to ſubmit; and the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, aſſerted by the Church of *England*, is injurious to Chriſt, the ſole King and Head of his Church.

21. *Non licet Principibus in cultu Divino Præcipere quod non eſt antecedenter neceſſarium.*

22. *Scandalum infirmorum tollit omnem auctoritatem humanam condendi leges de rebus adiaphoris.*

23. *Tyranni & impii principes morte multandi ſunt; quod ſi Judices & inferiores Magiſtratus officio ſuo deſint, jus gladii redit ad Populum, quo ſi major pars uti nolit, Paſtores & Miniſtri Eccleſiaſtici debent Principes Satanæ tradere, & poſt ſententiam Excommunicationis latam, quibuſlibet ſubditis licebit eos occidere, eodem jure quo ſubditi* Athaliam, *&* Jehu, Jezabelem.

Buchanan. Goodman. Knox. Gilby. Jeſuitæ.

24. *Populo Dei etiam poſt conſignatum Scripturæ Canonem, in omni ævo novæ Revelationes ſunt expectandæ, ad quarum normam actiones ſuas dirigant vitamq; componant,* (a) *& privatus quilibet a Spiritu Sancto inſtigatus, jure poteſt occidere Tyrannum* (b).

(a) Quaker. & alii Enthuſ. *(b)* Goodman.

25. *Exemplum* Phineazi *nobis eſt pro Præcepto; quod enim ſemel probavit Deus &*

21. It is not lawful for Superiors to impoſe any thing in the worſhip of God that is not antecedently neceſſary.

22. The Duty of not offending a weak Brother is inconſiſtent with all human Authority of making Laws concerning indifferent things.

23. Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to Death, and if the Judges and inferior Magiſtrates will not do their Office, the power of the Sword devolves to the People; if the major part of the People refuſe to exerciſe this power, then the Miniſters may excommunicate ſuch a King, after which it is lawful for any of the Subjects to kill him, as the People did *Athaliah*, and *Jehu Jezabel*.

24. After the ſealing of the Scripture Canon, the People of God in all Ages are to expect new Revelations for a Rule of their Actions, and it is lawful for a private Man, having an inward Motion from God, to kill a Tyrant.

25. The Example of *Phineas* is to us inſtead of a Command; for what God

præ-

præcepit, illud perpetuo & ubiq; obliget neceſſe eſt.

Goodman. Knox. Naphthali.

26. *CAROLUS primus jure cæſus eſt, ejuſq; percuſſores in generatione ſua gloriæ Dei inſigniter ſerviebant.*

Milton. Goodwin. Owen.

27. *CAROLUS primus Parliamento* bellum *ultro intulit*, quo in caſu licuit illi reſiſtere, utpote jam privato, *& qui Regia Majeſtate prorſus excidiſſet.*

Baxter.

Has Propoſitiones omnes & ſingulas eſſe falſas, ſeditioſas, impias; pleraſq; inſuper hæreticas, blaſphemas, Religioni Chriſtianæ infames, & Politiæ Civilis & Eccleſiaſticæ ſubverſivas, ſtatuimus, decernimus & declaramus.

Porro Decernimus libros in quibus prædictæ propoſitiones & impia Dogmata occurrunt, aptos natos eſſe bonos mores & hominum imperitorum mentes corrumpere, ſeditiones atq; tumultus concitare, ſtatum Regnorum evertere, atq; rebellionem, parricidia & Atheiſmum manu *ducere, & proinde Scriptorum iſtorum lectione Togatos omnes arcemus ſub pœna juris.*

has commanded or approved in one Age, muſt needs oblige in all.

26. King *Charles* the firſt was lawfully put to Death, and his Murtherers were the bleſſed Inſtruments of God's glory in their Generation.

27. King *Charles* the firſt made War upon his Parliament; and in ſuch a caſe the King may not only be reſiſted, but he ceaſeth to be King.

We Decree, Judge and Declare, all and every of theſe Propoſitions to be falſe ſeditious and impious; and moſt of them to be alſo Heretical and Blaſphemous, Infamous to Chriſtian Religion, and deſtructive of all Government in Church and State.

We farther Decree, that the Books which contain the aforeſaid Propoſitions and impious Doctrines, are fitted to deprave good Manners, corrupt the Minds of unwary Men, ſtir up Seditions and Tumults, overthrow States and Kingdoms, and lead to Rebellion, Murther of Princes, and Atheiſm it ſelf; and therefore we Interdict all Members of the Univerſity from the reading

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Insuper supra nominatos libros in area Scholarum nostrarum manu infami flammis comburendos decernimus.

Porro ordinamus ut ad perpetuam rei memoriam hæc nostra Decreta, non modo in Acta Venerabilis istius consessus referantur, sed etiam eorum Apographa singulis Collegiis & Aulis intra hanc Universitatem communicata; in earundem Bibliothecis, Refectoriis, aliisq; locis maxime idoneis, ubi ab omnibus spectari & legi possint, publice appendantur.

Demum præcipimus & firmiter injungimus omnibus & singulis Prælectoribus, Tutoribus, Catechistis, aliisq; omnibus quibus Academicæ Juventutis institutio Concreditur, ut Curæ & fidei Suæ Commissos sedulo instruant & stabiliant in necessario illo Christianæ pietatis Capite, quod Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ tessera & Character audit; ut subjecti sint omni humanæ Creaturæ propter Deum, sive Regi, quasi Præcellenti, sive ducibus ab eo missis, ob vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum. Quod quidem obsequium, liquido, absolute & si-

the said Books, under the Penalties in the Statutes expreſt.

We alſo Order the before recited Books to be publickly burnt, by the hand of our Marſhal, in the Court of our Schools.

Likewiſe we Order, that in perpetual memory hereof, theſe our Decrees ſhall be enter'd into the Regiſtry of our Convocation, and that Copies of them being communicated to the ſeveral Colleges and Halls within this Univerſity, they be there publickly affixt in the Libraries, Refectories, or other fit places, where they may be Seen and Read of all.

Laſtly, we Command and ſtrictly enjoin all and ſingular Readers, Tutors, Catechiſts, and others, to whom the care and truſt of Inſtitution of Youth is committed, that they diligently inſtruct and ground their Scholars in that moſt neceſſary Doctrin, which in a manner is the Badg and Character of the Church of *England*, of ſubmitting to every Ordinance of Men for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of Evil-do-

ni

ni effugiis præſtandum eſſe doceant; moneantq; inſuper ex præcepto Apoſtoli, primum Omnium fieri obſecrationes, Orationes, Poſtulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro Regibus, & omnibus qui in ſublimitate conſtituti ſunt, ut quietam & tranquillam vitam agamus, in omni pietate & caſtitate: hoc enim bonum eſt & acceptum coram Servatore noſtro Deo; & ſpeciatim, ardentiſſimis juxta & aſſiduis precibus ad Gratiæ thronum venerabundi provolvantur, pro ſalute ſereniſſimi Regis noſtri Caroli, ut ab omni graſſatorum, inſultu & perfidorum machinationibus tutus, & inviolabilis uſque permaneat; fideiq; defenſor a Deo ſuo pariter defenſus, ſera & beata immortalitate perfruatur.

ers, and for the praiſe of them that do well; teaching that this Submiſſion and Obedience is to be clear, abſolute, and without exception of any State or Order of Men: Alſo that all Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions and giving of Thanks, be made for all Men, for the King and all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all godlineſs and honeſty; for this is good and acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour. And in eſpecial manner that they preſs and oblige them humbly to offer their moſt ardent and daily Prayers at the Throne of Grace, for the preſervation of our ſovereign Lord King *Charles*, from the attempts of open Violence, and ſecret Machinations of perfidious Traitors; that he the Defender of the Faith, being ſafe under the defence of the moſt High, may continue his Reign on Earth, till he exchange it for that of a late and happy Immortality.

Hono-

Honorabili plurimum Domino, Domino *Georgio Mackenzie*, Equiti Aurato, Regio Regni *Scotiæ* Advocato.

A Letter from the Univerſity of* Oxford, *to the late Sir* Geo. Mackenzie, *Lord-Advocate of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *upon his Dedicating his* Jus Regium *to that Learned Body.

Illuſtriſſime, & Clariſſime Domine,

CUM Regio Principum jure & Majeſtate nihil ſit Sanctius, utpote quod iis inviolatis & Regni Gloria & Subditorum pax unice conſervantur, facile poſſis credere quam Acceptiſſimos Academiæ, quæ Regi ſemper fida gloriatur præſtitiſſe, honores contulerit, cum veſtras Regiæ Cauſæ Vindicias. *Nobis non tantum tranſmiſeris, ſed & in publicum ſimul, iniquo hoc tempore, vocaris* Patrocinium. *Si quæ enim (poſt probatam Belli civilibus fidem, ignibuſq; traditas impios Libellos, de quibus Originem & vires ſumpſerat* Perduellio) *ulteriori Officii partes ſupererant, eas omnes veſtro explevimus beneficio, qui Cauſam Principis una videmur defendiſſe, quod Doctiſſimi Laboris effecerit Partieipes. Qui ipſa*

Moſt Excellent, and moſt Renowned Sir,

SInce nothing is more Sacred than the Perſons and Prerogatives of Princes, for that ſo long only as they are kept inviolate, the Honour of a Kingdom, and the Peace of Subjects can be preſerv'd, you may eaſily believe, that nothing could be more acceptable to our Univerſity, (which values her ſelf upon her conſtant Fidelity to the Crown) than your doing us the Honour, not only to preſent us with your *Defence of the Royal Cauſe*, but, notwithſtanding the Iniquity of the Times, dedicating it to us : For if any thing (after our approved Loyalty in the Great Rebellion, and our condemning thoſe Impious Libels to be publickly burnt, which gave Birth and Strength to

fundamenta

fundamenta penitus convellens quibus, inimica ſemper Regibus, Plebis improba innititur Cauſa, de ipſa ſeditione vel bellica potiorem reportaſti victoriam : Cum enim armis miles Rebelles cogat tempus in tantum gladios recondere, Tu, invictiſſimæ rationis viribus, imperas ne iterum ſtringantur. Languet quidem tantum quæ debellatur, non extinguitur, Seditio, devictumq; licet humilis & abjecti vulgus imperii patiens videatur, vel minima elucente ſpe res novas continuo molitur : Adeo ut Regias partes verius ſuſtentet qui ſuadet, quam qui cogit parere, rebuſq; Imperii honeſtius conſulat, qui inconcuſſa fidei Divinam ſtatuens Originem, Reverentiam Principum, non metum incutit, Re-

that Rebellion) be wanting on our parts, who ſeem to defend the ſame *Royal Cauſe* with you, you have abundantly ſupplied the defect in making us [by your Dedication] partakers of your moſt learned Labours. You by ſtriking at the very Foundation of that wicked Republican Party, profeſt Enemies to Monarchy, have gained a more Glorious Victory over the Faction, than if you had beaten them out of the Field : For whereas Soldiers for a time only compel Rebels by Force of Arms to ſheath their Swords ; you by the invincible Strength of Reaſon, command them never again to draw 'em. Sedition, which is ſuppreſſed, but not extinguiſhed, only languiſheth for a while, and the Rabble, tho' when quelled ſeem quietly to ſubmit, and cringe to Government ; yet, upon the leaſt proſpect of Succeſs, preſently attempt new Diſturbances: So that in reality he doth more truly ſupport the Royal Cauſe who perſuades Subjects to Obey, than he that beats them into Loyalty : And he more honourably conſults the Good of Government, who, by eſtabliſhing the divine Original of Allegiance, ſtrikes an Awe and Reverence, and not a

gibuſq; ex officio docet, non re, vel tempore turpiter inſervire. Hinc ſit ut quamvis Scotorum *virtuti plurimum debeatur, quod Rebelles bis profligaverint, Tibi plus ſit referendum quod* Buchananum *&* Miltonum : *Quorum licet de Scriptis derivatam plurimas Regni partes venenum infecerit, Tu tamen, graſſante diu malo, tam felici tandem remedio ſubveniſti, ut Conſcientiæ, Rationi, Legibuſq; Regni Antiquiſſimis neceſſe eſt renuncient ſi qui in poſterum ſint qui in Deum Regemq; una Rebelles, audeant movere arma. Quod itaq; noſtra ex parte unicum poſſumus, inter Libros æternæ memoriæ ſacros, veſtros Academia reponet, honores Autori exoptans quos ipſa nequit conferre, ſoliuſq; poſſit Principis Munificentia : Nimirum ut penitus fractis per Te Fanaticorum viribus, ſentiat Rex quantum poſſit vel unius Subditi literata fides, & ipſe ex-*

Terror into the Hearts of Subjects towards their Sovereigns, and teacheth them to ſerve their Kings out of a Senſe of *Duty*, and not baſely for *Intereſt*, and as *Time Servers*: Tho' 'tis true, and cannot be denied, that very much is owing to the Courage of the *Scots*, in twice routing the Rebels, yet much more is owing to you who have entirely routed *Buchanan* and *Milton*: For tho' they by their Writings had poyſon'd the greateſt part of the Nation, and the Infection had a long time ſpread it ſelf; yet you at length applied ſuch an effectual Antidote, that if any, being Rebels at once againſt GOD and the King, ſhall hereafter attempt a new Rebellion, they muſt of Neceſſity abjure *Conſcience*, *Reaſon*, and the moſt ancient *Laws* of the Kingdom. All now that remains on our part is, to lay up your Book in the Univerſity Archives, amongſt our ſacred Records, heartily wiſhing thoſe Honours to the Author, which we cannot, and nothing but the Munificence of a King can beſtow. May the King, therefore, (the Strength of the Phanatick Party, being thus intirely broken by you) ſee what great things may be done by one ſingle learn-

periam

periaris quantum mereatur. Hæc eo quo mittimus animo accipias, & inter Affectus indicia æstimes, quo Te prosequitur, Illustrissime Domine, Nomini Tuo addictissima,

Universitas Oxonienſis.

E domo noſtræ Convocationis, 5. Id. Junii, 1683.

ed and Loyal Subject; and you find by Experience, how much may be deſerv'd by ſuch a Subject. Be pleaſed, moſt Renowned Sir, to accept this with the ſame Affection as we ſend it, and to receive it as a mark of that Eſteem which is born your Honour, by the

Univerſity of Oxford.

Gazette 2006. *Feb.* 9. 1684.

Whitehall, February 6. 1684.

WHereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God to call to his Mercy our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles* II. of bleſſed Memory, by whoſe Deceaſe, the Imperial Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, are Solely and Rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince *James*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, his ſaid late Majeſty's only Brother and *Heir*. We, therefore, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, being here aſſiſted with thoſe of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, with numbers of other Principal Gentlemen of Quality, with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*; do now hereby with one full Voice, and Conſent of Tongue and Heart, Publiſh and Proclaim, That the High and Mighty Prince *James* II. is now, by the Death of our Late Sovereign of happy Memory, become our *only Lawful*, *Lineal*, and *Rightful* Leige Lord, *James* II. by the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and conſtant Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection: Beſeeching GOD, by whom Kings do Reign, to bleſs the Royal King *James* II. with long and happy Years to Reign over us.

GOD *Save King* James *the Second.*

A Speech *made by the Right Honourable the Earl of* Arran, *to the* Scots Nobility and Gentry, *met together at the* Council-Chamber *at* Whitehal, *on the Eighth of* January, 1688. *about an Addreſs to his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange, *to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom of* Scotland.

My LORDS,

I Have all the Honour and Deference for the Prince of *Orange* imaginable. I think him a brave Prince, and that we owe him great Obligations, in contributing ſo much for our Delivery from *Popery*: But while I pay him thoſe Praiſes, I cannot violate my Duty to my Maſter; I muſt diſtinguiſh between his *Popery* and his *Perſon*. I diſlike the one, but have ſworn, and do owe Allegiance to the other; which makes it impoſſible for me to ſign away that which I cannot forbear believing, as the King my Maſter's Right. For his preſent Abſence from us, by being in *France*, can no more affect our Duty, than his longer Abſence from us in *Scotland* has done all this while.

My LORDS,

The Prince in his Papers deſires our Advice: Mine is, That we ſhould move his Highneſs to deſire his Majeſty to Return, and call a free Parliament, for the ſecuring our Religion and Property, according to the known Laws of that Kingdom; which in my humble Opinion, will at laſt be found the beſt way to heal all our Breaches.

Gazette 1845. *July* 25. 1683.

The humble Addreſs of the Univerſity of Cambridge, July 25. 1683.

Dread Sovereign,

THough we cannot think upon the danger of your Sacred Majeſty, and your Royal and deareſt Brother, without

without Horror and Confuſion, yet we are comforted, and rejoyce in this Conſideration, That all the unnatural and deviliſh Conſpiracies of wicked and execrable Men, ſerve only to convice the World, how much your Sacred Majeſty is the Darling of Heaven, and the peculiar Care of Providence: And as from the bottom of our Hearts we thankfully adore and bleſs that Goodneſs which has been ſo watchful over your Majeſty, *its own Image here on Earth*; ſo do we equally *deteſt* and *abhor* the ungodly *Principles*, and bloody *Practices*, of thoſe *barbarous Villains*, who *could imagine Miſchief* againſt ſo much Mercy, and Sin againſt ſo great Goodneſs.

And our moſt earneſt Prayers are, That juſt Puniſhment may overtake all thoſe implacable Wretches, who delight in *Blood* and *Treaſon*: That all the pernicious Nurſeries of *Fanatick Rage*, *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, may be rooted out: That the Impieties of a pretended Religious Crew, may be all detected and confounded: That the wicked Contrivances of your Enemies may tend only to make your Sacred Majeſty more Great and Powerful: and that this Maſter-piece of all their Villany may be the Ground and happy Occaſion of a laſting and well ſettled Peace and Proſperity to your Majeſty, and your Lawful Succeſſors to all Generations.

Gazette 2012. *March* 2. 1684.

The humble Recognition and Addreſs of the Univerſity of Oxford, *to the King*, [James *the Second*] Feb. 21. 1684.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, &c.

WE your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, your Univerſity of *Oxford*, do here proſtrate our ſelves at your Royal Feet, to preſent with all Humility this publick Teſtimony of our unfeigned Sorrow, for our Demiſe of our late dread Sovereign of bleſſed Memory; and withal from the bottom of our Hearts, to adore and magnify the Providence of our good God, *by whom Kings Reign*, who out of his unſpeakable Mercy to this Church

and State, has preſerved your ſacred Majeſty, in the Government of theſe Kingdoms.

And as we can never ſwerve from the Principles of our Inſtitution in this place, and our Religion by Law eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, which *indiſpenſably binds us to bear all Faith*, and *true Obedience to our Sovereign, without any Reſtrictions or Limitations*; ſo we cannot *but moſt thankfully acknowledge*, that further *Obligation your Majeſty has laid upon us, by your Royal Aſſurance to defend that Religion which, to the Joy of all our Hearts, you have vouchſafed to give us* in your late moſt gracious Declaration.

Wherefore, out of a deep and hearty Senſe of our bounden Duty; as alſo of your Majeſty's moſt Princely Grace, and Tenderneſs to your People; We preſume to aſſure your Majeſty, 'That no Conſideration whatſoever ſhall 'be able to ſhake that ſtedfaſt Loyalty and Allegiance 'which, in the Days of your bleſſed Father, that Glori'ous Martyr, and in the late Times of *Diſcrimination*, '*ſtood here firm and unalterable*, to your Royal Brother and 'your ſelf, under the ſharpeſt Trials; and that we ſhall 'conſtantly (by God's *Aſſiſtance*) with *our* utmoſt Zeal 'and Fidelity, improve all thoſe Advantages *wherewith* 'God *and your Majeſty have* intruſted *us in this ancient* Nur'ſery *of* Learning; to *promote the Quiet, Happineſs*, and 'Security of your Majeſty's Reign over us.

And finally, We ſhall never fail to be earneſt Sollicitors at the Throne of Grace, that it would pleaſe Almighty God, who of his infinite Goodneſs hath ſettled you in Peace upon the Throne of your Royal Anceſtors, *to be henceforth* and *for ever the Defence* and Shield *of his Anointed*, to *protect your* Perſon, and *prolong your Days*; and *when you ſhall* have *finiſht* your *Courſe upon Earth* in Peace and Honour, to tranſlate you from one Crown to another, to a never-failing Crown of Glory in his Everlaſting Kingdom.

Gazette

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Addreſs of the Univerſity of Cambridge, March 25. 1685.

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects (duly reflecting upon the many great Bleſſings which this your Univerſity of *Cambridge* enjoy'd, during the Reign of our late Gracious Sovereign of ever bleſſed and glorious Memory) do, with a deep Senſe of our great Loſs, heartily Condole the Deceaſe of that moſt Excellent Monarch: But withal conſidering that (in deſpite of all the Violence and Treachery *of turbulent Men, who maliciouſly endeavour'd to turn the Stream of Lineal Succeſſion* out of its proper and ancient Channel) God has been pleas'd to provide for the laſting Security of theſe Nations, as well by preſerving the Sacred Life and Perſon of your Majeſty, as alſo by your *Rightful* and Peaceable Acceſſion to the *Imperial* Crown of theſe Kingdoms: We do rejoyce with all our Souls, and bleſs God for theſe ſingular Mercies, which have as fully repaired our former ineſtimable Loſs, as our Hearts could hope or deſire: And we do with all humble Submiſſion, preſent to your Sacred Majeſty our unfeigned Loyalty, the moſt valuable Tribute that we can give, or your Majeſty receive from us: This is a Debt which we ſhall be always paying, and always owing, it being a Duty naturally flowing from the very Principles of our holy Religion, by which we have been enabled in the worſt of Times, to breed as true and ſteady Subjects, as the World can ſhew, as well in the Doctrines as Practice of Loyalty, from which we can never depart.

Too much of St. Peter's Promiſe in this.

Your Majeſty has been pleaſed, out of a more than Paternal Affection, to ſignify by your Royal Declaration, how much your Princely Care is, and will be, to make your People eaſy in every good thing that is dear unto them; which condeſcending Goodneſs doth now, and will ever oblige us to make it the chearful Study and Buſineſs

ſineſs of our whole Lives, to expreſs our humble and hearty Gratitude to your Majeſty, and more particularly for your Royal Word, That you will ſupport and defend the Church of *England*, as it now ſtands by good Laws moſt happily Eſtabliſhed.

The Conſtant Tenor of your Majeſty's moſt Exemplary Obedience whilſt a Subject, as well as the firſt meaſures of your Government now our Sovereign, muſt needs ſhame the moſt inſenſible of your People into Love and Duty; which Chriſtian Offices, that make up the juſt Character of your beſt Subjects, as this your Univerſity has conſtantly and conſcienciouſly practiſed; ſo in our daily Devotions we will affectionately pray to Almighty God, for your Majeſty's long and proſperous Reign over us in this World, and your everlaſting Happineſs in that which is to come.

Gazette 2013. *March* 5. 1684.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, and Clergy of the City of Cheſter.

AS we cannot but with juſt Grief reflect upon our Loſs, in the Death of our late Dread Sovereign of Ever-bleſſed Memory, ſo with all humble Thankfulneſs, we acknowledge God's infinite Goodneſs and Bounty to us, in vouchſafing your Majeſty's peaceable Succeſſion in the Government of theſe Realms, as your *Juſt* and *Hereditary* Right; owning our Obligation to all Loyal and Dutiful Obedience to your Majeſty to be from GOD, as part of the Religion (which to the unſpeakable Joy of our Hearts) your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleas'd to declare your Reſolution to defend and ſupport; for which Encouragement in our Duty, we humbly beg your Majeſty's Acceptance of our unfeigned Thankfulneſs, Praying Almighty God you may long Reign over us in Proſperous Health, and Kingly Honour.

The

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop of Briſtol, *the Vicar-General, and the Clergy of the Cathedral and City of* Briſtol.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

AS We received the ſad and ſurprizing News of the Death of our late Dread Sovereign, with thoſe ſorrowful Reſentments which became our Loyal Duty, and the Happineſs which we had long enjoy'd under his moſt Gracious Government; ſo the Joy which we conceiv'd, to ſee your Majeſty (according to your *juſt Right* of *Succeſſion*) ſet and ſettled upon the Throne of your Fathers in Peace (notwithſtanding the inſolent and violent Attempts of evil Men to the contrary) at once equall'd and allay'd them: And we heartily Congratulate this, not ſo much to your Majeſty as to your Kingdoms, which are made happy again in a Prince of ſo Heroical Endowments and Atchievements. Amongſt the reſt, we crave leave moſt thankfully to acknowledge your Majeſty's wonderful Condeſcenſion, in vouchſafing to give your Subjects repeated Aſſurances of your Majeſty's firm Reſolution, to maintain and defend the Religion of the Church of *England*, as now by Law Eſtabliſhed, which as it is and ought to be dearer to us than our very Lives; ſo it is peculiarly endeared to us, for that (above all that is called Religion in the World) it twiſts *Piety* with *Loyalty*, and *without Reſerve* Recognizeth your Sacred Majeſty, as the Sovereign and Supream Power within your Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, againſt whom there is no riſing up, and only leſs than God Himſelf. According to the Dictates of that moſt Excellent Religion, we abhor all thoſe *Antimonarchical* Perſons and Principles, which would either *exclude* Princes from their *juſt Rights*, or *diſturb* their peaceable Enjoyment of them. And we earneſtly beſeech the King of Kings, that your Majeſty's Throne may not only be Eſtabliſh'd, but rais'd ſtill higher upon the Ruins of all thoſe that ſhall endeavour to ſubvert or ſupplant it; and that after a long and proſperous Reign upon Earth, He will give your Majeſty that Kingdom which cannot be ſhaken.

Your Majeſty's Moſt Humble, moſt Dutiful,
And Moſt Obedient Subjects.

Gazette

Gazette 2016. *March* 16. 1684.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop and Clergy of the Dioceſs of Bath *and* Wells.

IF ever our Loyalty could truly be ſaid to Sow in Tears, and to Reap in Joy, it was that Hour when we receiv'd the News, of our late Dread Sovereign's Death, and of Your Majeſty's peaceable Succeſſion: But, bleſſed be God, whoſe propitious Providence made our Joys to over balance our Sorrows, by ſoon ſatisfying us, that our King never Dy'd; that He ſtill lives in You, His *Rightful* Succeſſor, That He ſtill lives in You His only Brother, and as He himſelf on his Death-bed often profeſt, His deareſt Friend; That He ſtill lives in You, in that particular Graciouſneſs which render'd Him amiable to all Mankind, and a moſt tender Nurſing-Father to the Church and People of *England*; and which to our unſpeakable Conſolation, does illuſtriouſly appear, in that auſpicious Promiſe Your Majeſty has made us, of protecting our Eſtabliſh'd Religion, the greateſt Concern we have in the World. 'Tis this aſſures us, That the Dying Benediction His late Majeſty gave to His Kingdom, is abundantly fulfill'd in You; and we ſecurely rely on the Sacredneſs of Your Royal Word, which has ever been Inviolable; for which we return our moſt humble Acknowledgement to Your Majeſty, and offer up our Praiſes to the Divine Goodneſs. 'We do withal ſolemnly vow, to Teach, and 'to Inculcate Allegiance, both in our Diſcourſes, and by 'our Examples, to all Your Subjects under our Care, and 'to excite them to joyn with us in our fervent Prayers, 'that Your Majeſty may have a Happy Reign here be-'low, and a late Exaltation to Your Throne above.

Gazette 2018. *March* 23. 1684.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop and Clergy of the Dioceſs of Hereford.

THE deep Senſe and Grief of Heart which we Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Obedient Subjects had conceived,

conceived, for the great Loſs of our moſt Gracious King *Charles*, Your Majeſty's dearly beloved Brother of Ever-bleſſed Memory, was much abated, when we ſaw Your Majeſty aſcend the Throne of Your Royal Anceſtors (to which You had ſo *undoubted* a Right, by the Laws of *Nature* and this *Kingdom*) not only in Peace and Quiet, but with the Deſire, Joy, and Acclamation of all Your Majeſty's Subjects: But when we further underſtood Your Majeſty's ſo Early, and ſo Gracious Declaration to Support and Defend the *Proteſtant Religion*, as it is now Eſtabliſhed by Law in this Kingdom, (which is far dearer to us than our Lives) our Mourning was wholly turn'd into Tears of Joy, and Exaltation of Spirit, praiſing and glorifying God for ſo great a Benefit; and rendring unto Your Majeſty moſt humble Gratitude: 'And not only promiſing all Duty, Obedience and Loyalty, but making it 'our conſtant Endeavour to infuſe into the Hearts of all, 'both the Neceſſity and Happineſs of performing the ſame. And alſo pouring out our Supplications unto God, for Your Majeſty's long and proſperous Reign over us in Honour, Peace and Plenty; and that God of his infinite Goodneſs, when he ſhall pleaſe to call You hence, will tranſlate You to a Kingdom of Everlaſting Felicity and Glory. *Amen.*

Gazette 2019. *March* 26. 1685.

The humble Addreſs of the Clergy of Exeter, Hertfordſhire *and* Middleſex, *within the Dioceſs of* London.

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, do heartily condole Your Majeſty's Loſs of ſo dear a Brother, and Ours, of ſo Gracious a Prince as our late Dread Sovereign of bleſſed Memory.

We do at the ſame time, thankfully adore that Divine Providence which has ſo peacefully ſeated Your Majeſty, our *Righteful* Sovereign Lord, upon the *Throne* of Your *Anceſtors*, to the Joy of all Your Majeſty's good Subjects.

'And as the Principles of our Church have taught us 'our Duty to our Prince, ſo we moſt humbly thank Your 'Majeſty, for making our Duty ſo eaſy and pleaſant, by

'Your

'Your Gracious Aſſurance to defend our Religion Eſta-
'bliſhed by Law, which is dearer to us than our Lives.
'In a deep Senſe whereof, we promiſe to contribute all
'we can by our Prayers, our Doctrine and Example, to
'Your Majeſty's happy Reign.

And with our moſt ſincere Promiſes of all Faith and Allegiance, we pray God to preſerve Your Majeſty's Perſon, and to eſtabliſh your Throne in this World, and in the next to Crown you with Everlaſting Glory.

Gazette 2020. *March* 30. 1685.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop and Clergy of the Dioceſs of Winton.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful, moſt Obedient and Loyal Subjects, the Biſhop, Dean, Arch-Deacons, and Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of *Winton*, together with the College near adjoining, and the whole Clergy of the Dioceſs; do with all Humility teſtify to God and the whole World, our deep and unfeigned Sorrow, for the Death of our late Dread Sovereign of Bleſſed and Glorious Memory; at the ſame time magnifying the Divine Providence, both for Your Sacred Majeſty's former Preſervations, and preſent happy Acceſs to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, Your Majeſty's moſt *True*, *Lineal*, and *Undoubted* Right.

And having returned our ſincere and moſt ſolemn Thanks to God Almighty *(by whom Kings Reign)* for this his ſignal Providence over, and unſpeakable Goodneſs to us: We beſeech Your Majeſty to accept of theſe Returns of Duty, Allegiance and Gratitude, which we render to Your Majeſty, for Your moſt Gracious declaring to preſerve the Government both in Church and State, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſh'd: Nothing being more dear unto us, than the Preſervation of Your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, the Peace, Happineſs, and Security of this Church and Kingdom; for which, as we conſtantly pray, ſo we ſhall 'make it the Argument of our Diſcourſes, to inſtruct the 'People committed to our Charge, in the indiſpenſable

'Duties

'Duties which they owe to Your Majeſty and Your Go-
'vernment; from which no Difficulties or Hazards ſhall
'be ever able to make us to ſwerve.

Gazette 2020. *March* 30. 1685.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop, Dean and Prebendaries, and the reſt of the Clergy of the Diocеſs of Carliſle.

Dread Sovereign,

THough we cannot reflect on the manifold Bleſſings which this Nation enjoy'd, under the happy Government of our late moſt Gracious Sovereign of Everbleſſed Memory, without the deepeſt Sorrow of Heart for the loſs of ſo excellent a Prince; yet conſidering how gracious the Divine Providence has been to us all, in preſerving Him in the Government ſo long, till he had perfectly ſubdued his Enemies both in Church and State, and made the way for his *Rightful* Succeſſor, Your Royal Self, both peaceable and eaſy; we cannot but exceedingly admire and magnify the Goodneſs and Mercy of God, even in the Method of his Judgments.

Your Majeſty's firſt Expreſſions to Your People are full of Princely Grace and Favour, and clearly ſhew to us, and all the World, what we may juſtly expect under Your Reign: That the kind Influences of Your Royal Clemency can never be obſtructed by the diſloyal and undutiful Practices of ſome; but that You will always follow the Steps of Your Royal Brother, in maintaining the Government as by Law Eſtabliſh'd, both in Church and State.

For this Gracious Declaration of Your Pious and Princely Reſolution, we deſire to return Your Majeſty our moſt humble and unfeigned Thanks; beſeeching Your Majeſty to believe, 'That as we have hitherto appro-
'ved our ſelves Dutiful and Loyal Subjects in the late
'difficult Times; ſo, for the future, we always ſhall,
'by our Example, and by our Doctrine, inſtil ſuch
'good and Chriſtian Principles into the Minds of the
'People under our Charge, that all of them may be
'Religiouſly and Conſciencioufly Obedient to Your Sa-
'cred

cred Majesty, Your Heirs, and Lawful Successors for Ever.

GOD, who is the King of Kings, preserve Your Majesty from all Danger; grant You a long and happy Reign here, and a Crown of Glory hereafter.

Gazette 2026. *April* 20. 1685.

The humble Address of the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, and the Clergy of the Diocess of Exeter.

May it please Your Sacred Majesty,

AS we (Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects) do with all our Hearts Condole the Death of our late Gracious Sovereign, Your Majesty's most entirely beloved Brother, by whose wonderful Restauration we were delivered from our late horrible Confusions, and establish'd upon our ancient Foundations of Peace and Truth; so with all our Souls we adore the Divine Majesty, who in no less wonderful manner hath preserv'd Your Sacred Person from the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People, and hath blessed us with the much desired peaceable Succession of Your Majesty, to the Throne of Your *Ancestors*.

And with all imaginable Gratitude we do acquiesce in Your Majesty's Gracious and Solemn Declaration, to preserve unto us our Establish'd Religion, which indispensably obligeth us to a strict Loyalty to Your Majesty, as well as to the fear of God; and for which, by the Precepts of our *Saviour*, and the Example of the Glorious Martyr Your Royal Brother, we have learned not to account our Lives dear unto us.

And lastly, We shall (as in Duty bound) with our utmost Zeal and Faithfulness, not only defend Your Majesty's Sacred Person, Crown and Dignity, and the Rights of Your Lawful Succession, but industriously promote them upon all Occasions in our several Stations; praying heartily for Your Majesty's long and prosperous Reign over us.

Gazette

Gazette 2026. *April* 20. 1685.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop and Clergy of the Dioceſs of Sarum, *aſſembled at the Election of the Knights of the Shire for the County of* Wilts.

Moſt humbly Sheweth,

THat tho' we have been duly humbled under the Calamity which befel us, by the Loſs of our late Sovereign of Bleſſed Memory; yet we look upon that Judgment as abundantly repaired, by the ineſtimable Mercy of Your Majeſty's peaceable Succeſſion to His Crown in the *Legal* and *Lineal* Courſe of *Deſcent*: That as we daily pour out our Hearts before the Throne of Grace for this inexpreſſible Bleſſing, ſo being generally met together to ſerve Your Majeſty upon this Occaſion, we could not reſtrain them from Congratulating it at Your Royal Feet: That we are moſt deeply and gratefully ſenſible, not only of Your Majeſty's great Tenderneſs to Your People, approved to us already, by the frequent Hazard of Your Sacred Life, but of Your Fixed, as well as Declar'd Reſolutions, to preſerve the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Government, and Church of *England*, the Principles whereof Your Majeſty moſt graciouſly declares to be for Monarchy: That being devoted Profeſſors of thoſe Principles in the Church, we ſhall ever be ready moſt chearfully to put them in Practice with the hazard of our Lives and Fortunes in Your Majeſty's Service; and that in defect of Opportunity to ſerve Your Majeſty with our Lives, we ſhall never fail, with a conſtant and entire Devotion to ſerve You with our Prayers; beſeeching the King of Kings, *by whom Kings Reign*, to bleſs Your Royal Perſon with a long and proſperous Reign over us, and to continue Your Poſterity in a perpetual Line of Succeſſion to inherit Your Temporal Crown here, when Your Majeſty ſhall be Crowned hereafter with an Eternal Weight of Glory.

Given under the Epiſcopal Seal of the Dioceſs, at the humble Petition, and by the Unanimous Concurrence of all the Clergy, preſent on the 24*th Day of* March, *in the firſt Year of Your Majeſty's moſt happy Reign over us.*

Gazette

Gazette 2027. *April* 23. 1684.

The humble Addreſs of the Biſhop, Chapter and Clergy of the Dioceſs of Oxford, *to the High and Mighty Prince* JAMES *the Second, by the Grace of* GOD *King of* England, *&c.*

WE your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Obedient Subjects, the Biſhop, Chapter and Clergy, of the Dioceſs of *Oxford*; tho' we have in Conjunction with our Univerſity and County, made early Gratulations of your Majeſty's peaceful Poſſeſſion of your Imperial Crown, notwithſtanding the Rebellious Attempts of wicked Men, who ſet themſelves againſt it; yet being now expreſly called together, by the Command of your ſacred Majeſty, for the choice of our Proctors in Convocation, we thought the opportunity was not to be paſſed over, to make in our own Names, and entirely of our ſelves, a particular profeſſion of Duty. Therefore in all Humility, proſtrate at your Majeſty's Feet, we deſire to offer our grateful Acknowledgments of your ſingular Clemency expreſt in your gracious Declaration to maintain our Religion, as now by Law eſtabliſh'd; wherein are bound up our beſt and higheſt Intereſt; alſo adoring the Divine Goodneſs, which hath put it into your Majeſty's Royal Heart, to repreſs the profligate Immoralities of the Age; and ſtop that Iſſue of Blood, the barbarous Cowardice of Duelling, which in Defiance of the Laws of God, and of the Land, made the Licenſe of our Peace, more unreaſonably inhuman than the Cruelty of War; We take leave to look upon theſe firſt Eſſays of your Government, as ſure Preſages of future Bleſſings: And render our heartieſt thanks to God and to your Majeſty for them. Alſo we pray that the Divine Goodneſs, which has given your Majeſty to theſe three Kingdoms a great Example of Heroical and Princely Virtues, will give your People grateful Hearts to va-

lue

lue their Enjoyments, and expreſs their Thankfulneſs in ſuitable returns of Submiſſion and Obedience. Laſtly, we ſolemnly promiſe our faithful and unwearied Endeavours in our Stations, that your People may imbibe into their Minds thoſe two great Leſſons, of FEARING GOD and HONOURING THE KING; and fully underſtand, that nothing can make your Reign eaſie and happy to them, but their making it firſt ſo unto your Sacred Majeſty.

Devon. ff. *Ad General. Quarterial. Seſſion. Pacis Dom. Regis tent. apud Caſtr.* **Exon.** *in & pro Com. præd. Sexto die Octobris, Anno Regni Regis* Jacobi *Secundi nunc Angliæ, &c. Primo Annoq; Dom.* 1683.

WE think it our Duty, after ſuch an execrable Rebellion as we have lately had, (which by the infinite Mercy of God, and the admirable Prudence and Conduct of the King, was ſo ſoon and happily ſuppreſſed) in ſome extraordinary manner to expreſs our abhorrence of it; and our future Care and zealous Endeavour to root out (as far as by Law we can) that *peſtilent Faction* whence it ſprung, and to bring to condign Puniſhment all thoſe that did in the leaſt Favour, Countenance or Abet it; for we have by experience found, that impenitent hardened Sectaries, Schiſmaticks or Rebels, (which are but convertible Terms) are no more to be truſted in any Civil Society (without the utmoſt Caution and Security of the Law) than Beaſts of Prey without Chains and Fetters. Wherefore, according to the former Orders and Reſolutions of this Court, we will vigorouſly put in execution the ſevereſt of the Laws now in force, againſt all Seditious Sectaries and Diſaffected Perſons to the Government. And we will, by Order of this Court, require from them ſufficient Security for their quiet and peaceable Behaviour.

And becauſe many of thoſe that were actually in Arms in the late Rebellion, are not yet apprehended, and many that did Abet and Contribute towards it, are not yet (we fear) diſcovered; we will ſtrictly require the Conſtables, and other Officers of every Pariſh in this County, to preſent to us, upon their Oaths, exact Liſts of all the Inhabitants of their reſpective Pariſhes, that have been reputed Phanatical or Diſaffected to the Government. And whether from the 12th Day of *June*, to the 6th Day of *July* laſt, they have been abſent from their reſpective Habitations; as alſo whether they have held any Correſpondency with any Rebels, have ſheltred them, or in the leaſt have aſſiſted or contributed towards them; and what Strangers they have had in their Houſes ſince the time above-mention'd, and we will leave Warrants in the Hands of all Conſtables for the ſearching for, and apprehending all ſuch ſuſpicious Perſons.

And foraſmuch as ſeditious Libels, ſcandalous Speeches, and falſe News, have been the ſucceſsful Engines with which they have propagated their Helliſh Treaſons, we reſolve ſeverally to puniſh all the Authors or Publiſhers of ſeditious Libels, and ſpreaders of falſe News: And for the Encouragement of all ſuch as ſhall Proſecute, or give Evidence againſt any of them, we will from time to time reimburſe and defray all the neceſſary Charge and Expence that they ſhall be at, in ſuch their Proſecutions.

And whereas it hath appeared, that Non-conformiſt Miniſters, and Conventicle Preachers have been the miſchievous Factors that have for a long time propagated and upheld the Faction; and under pretences of *Religion* have ſeduced the unwary People from their *Allegiance* and *Duty*; and that conſiderable numbers of them were actually in the late Rebellion (fit Chaplains indeed for ſuch a Muſhroom King, and fit Spiritual Guides for ſuch lewd Rebels) we reſolve to iſſue out Warrants from this Court, for the Apprehending of all Non-conformiſt Preachers, that we ſhall be informed by the Preſentments of the head Conſtables, or the Grand Jury, or by our own knowledge have been ſeen at any time within the ſpace of 3 Years within this County, as Inhabitants, Sojourn-

Sojourners, or Strangers. And whereas we have formerly ordered 40 *s.* as a Reward to any that ſhould apprehend or ſecure them, we reſolve now, as a farther Encouragement, to give to any Perſon that ſhall Apprehend or Secure any one of them, the Sum of 3 *l.*

We have by long and ſad Experience found the miſchievous and fatal Effects of too much Lenity and Indulgence, which meeting with the incorrigible ill Nature of the Sectaries and Phanaticks, did certainly beget and nouriſh this late impudent Rebellion, which a few gentle ſtrokes of Juſtice, would at firſt happily have prevented; ſo that the Sword which hath been Defenſively unſheathed, and hath been (thanks to Almighty God) ſo ſucceſsful, muſt for ſome time be neceſſarily kept unſheathed, in the execution of the Laws, till this Generation of impenitent and deſperate Rebels be all cut off, for our Religion, the King's ſacred Perſon, and our Government cannot otherwiſe be ſecured.

That the juſt Reſentment of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, for the County of DEVON, have of the late horrid Rebellion, and that their care for the ſafety of his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, the preſervation of the publick Peace, and the prevention of the like deteſtable Rebellion for the future, may be fuller known, and have better effect, I do Order and Require all the Clergy of my Dioceſs, in the County of DEVON, deliberately to Publiſh this Order the next Sunday *after it ſhall be tendered to them.*

Licens'd, Oct. 15. 1683. *R. L'Eſtrange.*

Tho. Exon.

The Biſhop of *Ely*, the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Teniſon* and Dr. *Hooper*, (appointed by the King to aſſiſt the Duke of *Monmouth* at his Execution) told the Duke of *Monmouth*, that if he were of the Church of *England*, *he muſt acknowledge the* Doctrin of *Non-Reſiſtance* to be true.

They gave him frequent Exhortations to *give ſome ſatisfaction* for the publick Injuries to the Kingdom.

They told him, that *Publick Satisfaction* is a neceſſary part of Repentance, and preſs'd him to own a deteſtation of Rebellion.

Gazette 2009. *Feb.* 19. 1684.

A Letter to his Majeſty from the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops of Scotland.

Moſt Sacred Sovereign,

OUr deep and juſt ſorrow for the death of our late bleſſed and gracious King, would certainly ſwallow us up, did not the righteous and peaceable *Succeſſion* of your Majeſty ſupport us under our unexpreſſible affliction.

Had we the honour and happineſs to proſtrate our Perſons at your Royal Feet, our Tears would prove our beſt Orators for the former, as our Prayers and Thankſgivings to the only Ruler of Princes, and our beſt and moſt faithful Endeavours to ſerve your moſt ſacred Majeſty, ſhall ever expreſs our Joy and Zeal for the latter.

Your pious Zeal for the Honour and Intereſt of your royal Brother our late Sovereign now in Glory, and for this your ancient Kingdom, whilſt we enjoy the happineſs of your preſence amongſt us, as it did then demonſtrate you to be the beſt and moſt obedient of Subjects, ſo did it prognoſticate your being the kindeſt and moſt paternal of Sovereign Princes to your People.

At this diſtance from your Royal Preſence, we are able in our preſent Circumſtances to do no more than humbly to Addreſs to your Majeſty in Paper, to pay that Duty we owe upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion; but are reſolved (if your ſacred Majeſty ſhall allow) to deſire the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* (who is moſt deſirous and ambitious to congratulate your *moſt righteous* Succeſſion to the Thrones of your Royal Anceſtors) to Addreſs himſelf to your royal Preſence, more fully to expreſs our Senſe and Duty, than a Letter can allow, and humbly to implore your Majeſty's Protection and Favour to this National Church, and to our Order and Perſons; which we are humbly confident to obtain, when we reflect on your Piety and Zeal for all theſe Intereſts, during your Abode in this Kingdom.

To

To honour, ſerve and humbly Obey your Sacred Majeſty in all our Capacities, as God's *Vice-gerent* over us, is not only *incorporated* into our *Religion*, but is the moſt zealous Inclination of

Moſt Sacred Sovereign,

Edinbrugh, *Feb.* 10. 1684.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, moſt Loyal, and moſt Obedient Subjects and Servants.

Gazette 2012. *March* 2. 1684.

The humble Addreſs of the Univerſity of Dublin.

SInce by the Mercies of Heaven, and your own *indubitable* Right, your Majeſty is now eſtabliſh'd on your Royal Throne, we own it our Duty to make our acknowledgements to Almighty God for his preſervation of your Majeſty, from the many villainous Deſigns, and traiterous Attempts of all the Sons of Violence, and to beg the Protection of the ſame Divine Providence over your Majeſty's Perſon and Kingdom for the future. And we moſt humbly crave leave to profeſs unto your Majeſty our faithful Allegiance, that we are of a Religion, (the Religion of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*) which never did, nor ever will, countenance Sedition and Treaſon, but conſcientiouſly render both to God and *Ceſar* their due. Nor do we beg your Majeſty's Patronage of this your College, founded by Queen *Elizabeth*, conſerved and augmented by your Grandfather, Father, and Brother, your Royal Anceſtors of Glorious and Immortal Memory; nor implore your Indulgence, and the Bleſſings of God upon our ſelves; any otherwiſe than as we ſhall moſt devoutly pray for your Majeſty's long and happy Reign, evince the Loyalty of our Doctrin by a conformable Practice, and endeavour according to our

Capacities and Stations, that others alſo may be as in the greateſt Sincerity we will live and dye,

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal, Dutiful and Obedient Subjects and Servants, the Provoſt, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College *at* Dublin.

Gazette 2007. *Feb.* 12. 1684.

The humble Addreſs of the Benchers, Aſſociates, Barriſters, and Students of the Society of Lincolns-Inn.

Sheweth,

THat we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and obedient Subjects do from the bottom of our Hearts condole the Death of that excellent Prince, your late dear Brother, and our late dread Sovereign King *Charles* the Second of ever bleſſed Memory.

And we do with Joy unſpeakable make known our great Thankfulneſs to Almighty God for your Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown of your *Anceſtors*, and the Government of theſe Nations, that is *Rightfully* deſcended to you.

And we do humbly beſeech your Majeſty *to accept hereof, and of our entire Reſolutions to ſerve your Majeſty with our Lives* and Fortunes, and our Prayers for your Majeſty's long Life and proſperous Reign over us.

Gazette 2015. *March* 12. 1684.

The humble and unanimous Addreſs of the Barriſters and Students of the Middle Temple *in Parliament aſſembled.*

Moſt dread Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, with all Humility Congratulate the *Legal* and peace-

peaceable Deſcent of this *Imperial* Crown upon your Majeſty, the only Remedy for our unſpeakable Sorrow for the death of our late moſt Gracious Sovereign of ever glorious and bleſſed Memory.

Your Majeſty's unparallel'd Juſtice, Courage and Conduct (ſignaliz'd to the World before they became Ornaments to the Crown) give a perfect Aſſurance of Happineſs to theſe Nations under your Government. We cannot therefore but with the deepeſt ſenſe of Gratitude acknowledge your Majeſty's great Goodneſs and Condeſcention in your late Declaration, and in particular, that your Majeſty hath *been graciouſly pleaſed in purſuance of the ſame to extend your* Royal Care of the Government to the preſervation of the Cuſtomes; *the intermiſſion whereof would not only have diſabled your Majeſty to maintain the Navy, in defence of the Realm, but by taking* away the Ballance of Trade *have ruined thouſands of your Majeſty's Subjects that paid Cuſtom in the Life of our late Sovereign, and by an exceſſive Exportation and Importation Cuſtom-free, have rendered that branch of the* Revenue unprofitable for ſome Years to come, notwithſtanding all the Care and Loyalty of the ſucceeding Parliament. For which reaſons the ſame have been continually received by your Majeſty's Royal *Predeceſſors for ſome hundred of Years, and never queſtioned by any Parliament, unleſs in that wherein were ſown the Seeds of Rebellion,* againſt the glorious Martyr your Royal Father of ever bleſſed Memory.

'Tis a received Maxim of the Common-Law [Theſaurus Regis eſt vinculum Pacis & bellorum Nervi] *ſuch is the happy Conſtitution of this Monarchy, That your Majeſty's high Prærogative is the greateſt Security of the Liberty and Property of the Subject; ſo that whoever would impair the* Revenue of the Crown, muſt by this Fundamental *(as binding as* Magna Charta, *and more ancient)* be eſteemed an Enemy to the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom.

We therefore think it our indiſpenſible Duty to endeavour the Choice of ſuch Repreſentatives for the reſpective Counties and Burroughs to which we *belong*, as may not only *concur in ſettling a Revenue ſufficient to ſupport the Government as formerly, but alſo ſhew a grateful Senſe of the great Things you have done and ſuffered* for us

already, an entire Confidence in Your Majeſty's Goodneſs towards us for the fututre, and a chearful Complyance with your Heroiek Inclinations, to advance the Honour and Intereſt of theſe Nations. May there never be wanting Millions as Loyal as we are, to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in defence of your Sacred Perſon and Prerogatives in its full Extent, and inceſſantly pray the King of Kings to grant your Majeſty a long and happy Reign over us,

Gazette 2250. *June* 13. 1687.

The humble Addreſs of ſeveral Benchers and Bariſters of the Middle-Temple.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful Subjects, to our great Joy, have received a happy Occaſion of making this Declaration of Your Gratitude. And as we know that Your Majeſty's Goodneſs is the greateſt that ever was ſhewn by a Prince to His Subject; ſo we wiſh the Voice of Men and Angels, to return ſufficient Thanks for Your Majeſty's Condeſcenſion, *and Clemency to all Your Subjects*, in Your Gracious Declaration for a Toleration.

And as for this Compaſſion and Goodneſs, Thanks *ought to be paid Your Majeſty, by all Your* Subjects; *So we, eſpecially of* the *Profeſſion of the Law, have moſt reaſon to* be thankful for the Honour You have done us, *by aſſerting Your own Royal Prerogative, which is the* very Life of the Law, and our Profeſſion.

Which Prerogatives, *as they were given by* God Himſelf, *ſo we declare, that no Power upon Earth can diminiſh them, but they muſt always remain* entire and inſeparable to Your Royal Perſon: Which Prerogatives, as we have ſtudied to know them, ſo we are reſolved to defend them, by aſſerting with *our Lives* and *Fortunes, that* Divine Maxim, *A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex.*

And now, as a Teſtimony of our perfect Satisfaction in this our Addreſs and Acknowledgment, we have ſubſcribed our Names, that Your Majeſty may know us to be Yours; and that the reſt of our Profeſſion may follow our Example:

Example: And therefore, we humbly beg Your Majeſty will accept this Addreſs from us, who in Concluſion make bold to offer our beſt Wiſhes, and hearty Deſires, that Your Majeſty's Councils may proſper in Wiſdom, Your Kingdoms flouriſh in Peace, and Your Royal Perſon enjoy a Long, Happy and Glorious Reign over us.

Gazette 2287. *October* 20. 1687.

The moſt humble Addreſs of the Provoſt, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity-College, Dublin.

YOUR Majeſty's near Approach to Your Kingdom of *Ireland*, as it does influence Your Subjects here in General, ſo it particularly affects Your Univerſity and College of *Dublin*, Founded, Endow'd, and Defended by Your Royal Predeceſſors and Anceſtors, of Glorious and Immortal Memory: Wherefore, we readily embrace this advantageous Opportunity, and humbly beg Leave to expreſs our Thankfulneſs to Your Majeſty, for the great Quiet and Freedom we enjoy under Your moſt Gracious Protection and Government, to improve both our ſelves and others, in all manner of Vertue and good Literature; *the Principles of our Loyalty being the ſame that the Church of* England *profeſſes.* Whilſt we keep our Religion, we can never forego our Allegiance; and therefore, we preſume upon the Continuance of Your Majeſty's Goodneſs and Clemency; 'and ſhall always, as *Conſcience* and *Gratitude* 'indiſpenſibly oblige us, make our devouteſt Prayers to 'Almighty God for Your Welfare and Felicity, that You 'may enjoy a long and proſperous Reign in this World, 'and eternal Glory in the next.

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal, moſt Humble,
And moſt Obedient Subjects and Servants,

The Provoſt, Fellows, and Scholars of *Trinity-College*, near *Dublin.*

Gazette

Gazette 2283. *October* 13. 1687.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Lord-Mayor, and Aldermen of Your City of *London*, in a deep Senſe of Your Majeſty's condeſcending Goodneſs vouchſafed to all Your Subjects, in Your late *Royal Declaration* of *Indulgence*, do proſtrate our ſelves at Your Majeſty's Feet with our moſt humble and thankful Acknowledgements, Your Majeſty having thereby eminently provided for the Union and Peace of all Your Subjects without Diſtinction, and given them the fulleſt Aſſurances, *That during Your Majeſty's Reign they ſhall be protected and preſerv'd, not only in their Civil Rights and Poſſeſſions, but alſo in* (that which is moſt dear) *the free and uninterrupted Exerciſe of their Religion*; which unexpreſſible Bounty and Clemency in Your Majeſty, will render us the moſt ungrateful and inexcuſable, ſhould we ever fail in performance of Loyalty and Duty, or our utmoſt Services to Your Majeſty: And we alſo in the humbleſt manner, beg Your Majeſty's favourable Acceptance of the Expreſſions of our unfeigned Joy and heartieſt Congratulations, for Your Majeſty's ſafe Return to this Your Royal Palace, through the loud and continued Acclamations of all Your Subjects, whom Your Majeſty, in Your late Progreſs, hath been pleas'd to Honour with Your Royal Preſence: But we who are therewith *continually honoured and refreſhed, have thereby afforded us* conſtant *matter of Joy and Satisfaction, being more immediately under the benign* Influence *of Your unparallel'd Goodneſs*; *ſo that we on all* Accounts, *both of Intereſt, Duty and Gratitude, are eſpecially oblig'd* to *offer our ſelves, our Lives and Fortunes, to Your Majeſty's Service*; *and moſt ſincerely to* pray for Your Majeſty's long Life and happy Reign,

Gazette

Gazette 2398. *November* 12. 1688.

A Letter from the Lords, Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops of the Kingdom of Scotland.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Sacred Majeſty,

WE proſtrate our ſelves to pay our moſt devote Thanks and Adoration to the Sovereign Majeſty of Heaven and Earth, for preſerving Your Sacred Life and Perſon ſo frequently expos'd to the greateſt Hazards, and as often deliver'd; and You miraculouſly proſper'd with Glory and Victory, in Defence of the Rights and Honour of Your Majeſty's Auguſt Brother, and of theſe Kingdoms; and that by his merciful Goodneſs, the ragings of the Sea and madneſs of unreaſonable Men, have been ſtill'd and, calm'd: And Your Majeſty, as the Darling of Heaven, peaceably ſeated on the Thrones of Your Royal Anceſtors, whoſe Long, Illuſtrious, and Unparallell'd Line, is the greateſt Glory of this Your Ancient Kingdom.

We pay our moſt humble Gratitude to your Majeſty, for the repeated Aſſurances of your Royal Protection to our National Church and Religion, as the Laws have Eſtabliſhed them; which are very ſuitable to the Gracious Countenance, Encouragement and Protection, your Majeſty was pleas'd to afford our Church and Order, whilſt we were happy in your Preſence amongſt us.

'We magnify the Divine Mercy, in bleſſing your Ma'jeſty with a *Son*, and us with a *Prince*, whom we pray 'Heaven may bleſs and preſerve; to ſway your Royal 'Scepters after you; and that he may inherit, with your 'Dominions, the Illuſtrious and Heroick Vertues of his 'Auguſt and moſt Serene Parents.

We are amaz'd to hear of the danger of an Invaſion from *Holland*, which excites our Prayers for an Univerſal Repentance to all Orders of Men, that God may yet ſpare his People, preſerve your Royal Perſon, and prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood; and to give ſuch Succeſs to your Majeſty's Arms, that all who invade your Majeſty's *juſt* and *undoubted* Rights, and diſturb or interrupt the Peace of your Realms, may be diſappointed and cloathed

with Shame, ſo that on your Royal Head the Crown may ſtill flouriſh.

'As, by the Grace of GOD, we ſhall preſerve in our 'ſelves a firm and unſhaken Loyalty, ſo we ſhall be care-'ful and zealous to promote, in all your Subjects, an in-'trepid and ſtedfaſt Allegiance to your Majeſty, as an eſ-'ſential part of their Religion, and of the Glory of our 'Holy Profeſſion; not doubting but that GOD in His great Mercy, who hath ſo often preſerv'd and deliver'd your Majeſty, will ſtill preſerve and deliver you, by giv-ing you the Hearts of your Subjects, and the Necks of your Enemies. So Pray we, who, in all Humility, are,

May it pleaſe Your moſt Sacred Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, moſt Faithful,
And moſt Obedient Subjects and Servants.

Edenburgh November 3. 1688. Signed by

The Lord Arch-biſhop of { St. *Andrews.* / *Glaſcow.*

The Lord Biſhop of { *Edinburg.* / *Galloway.* / *Aberdeen.* / *Dunkell.* / *Brechen.* / *Orkney.* / *Murray.* / *Roſſe.* / *Dumblane* / The *Iſles.*

The

The Parliament of Ireland's *Addreſs to the* KING.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful, and moſt Loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, being highly ſenſible of the great Honour and Happineſs we enjoy by your Royal Preſence amongſt us, do moſt humbly and heartily Thank your Sacred Majeſty, for vouchſafing to come into this your Kingdom of *Ireland*: And for your Grace and Goodneſs to your Subjects, in Calling this Parliament; and for your Majeſty's Tender and Princely Affection expreſs'd to all your Loving Subjects, in your Majeſty's Gracious Speech at the opening of this Seſſion; which we muſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty may be forthwith Printed and Publiſh'd. And we further crave leave humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, Our *Abhorrence* and *Deteſtation* of the late *Treaſons* and *Defections* of many of your Majeſty's Subjects in this, and your other Kingdoms. And the UNNATURAL USURPATION of the Prince of *Orange*, againſt the Laws of GOD and Man. Profeſſing with one *Voice*, *Tongue* and *Heart*, That we ſhall be EVER ready to aſſert and vindicate your Majeſty's Rights to your Imperial Crown, with our Lives and Fortunes, againſt the Said USURPER, and his Adherents, and all other *Rebells* and *Traytors* whatſoever.

Ordered, *The Tenth of* May, 1689. *by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, That this Addreſs be Printed.*

B. Polewheele, *Dep. Cler. Parl.*

A ſhort

A ſhort and clear Account of the Succeſſion *of the Crown of* England *from* William *the Conqueror.*

William Rufus ſucceeded *William* the Conqueror, but the Right was in *Robert*, who was the Conquerors *eldeſt* Son, and *William* gave 3000 Marks of Silver yearly to *Robert* for the manifeſt Right which he had to poſſeſs the Kingdom of *England*.

Henry the 1ſt, was youngeſt Son to the Conqueror, and ſucceeded *William Rufus*, and gave *Robert* as *William* did, 3000 Marks as an Acknowledgment that the Right was in *Robert*. He married the Neice of *Edgar Atheling*, by whoſe Iſſue the *Norman* and *Saxon* Line came to be united.

Stephen Succeeded, but the Right was in *Maud* the Empreſs, and our ancient Writers reckon him an Uſurper, becauſe there was another nearer in Blood. *Stephen* himſelf, in an Aſſembly of Biſhops and Nobles, acknowledged that *Henry* had the Hereditary Right (*Maud* concurring in the Agreement) to the Crown of *England*. And upon the Peace made between them, *Henry* did graciouſly condeſcend that K. *Stephen* (if he pleaſed) might poſſeſs the Kingdom peaceably during his own Life, provided he quietly reſign'd it to him at his Death. It was granted by all, that *Henry* was the *undoubted Heir* of the Kingdom without diminution.

Henry the 2d came in as *Heir* of the right Blood.

Richard the 1ſt ſucceeded *Henry* as *eldeſt* Son and *next Heir*, and was Recogniz'd as *Right Heir* by the Clergy and People.

John ſucceeded *Richard* the 1ſt, but the *Right* was in Prince *Arthur* (eldeſt Son to *Geoffry Plantagenet* elder Brother to *John*) to whom many adhered as to their *Natural Lord*, and the *Right Heir* of *England*. *Arthur* as *Right Heir* aimed at the Crown, and his Friends declared it was *Cuſtom*, *Law* and *Equity*, that the *Son* of King *John's* elder Brother ſhould have that Patrimony, which would

would have fallen to his Father had he been then alive? *Knighton* ſays, *John* came *unjuſtly* to the Kingdom, for he murdered *Arthur*, who by *Hereditary Right* ought to have had the Crown of *England*.

Henry the 3d, King *John*'s eldeſt Son, and *Heir* to the Kingdom, ſucceeded, and the People ſubmitted to him, becauſe *he was the Kings Son*, and their *Lord* and *Succeſſor* to the Kingdom.

Edward the 1ſt ſucceeds as *eldeſt* Son of *Henry* the Third.

Edward the 2d, eldeſt Son to *Edward* the 1ſt ſucceeded meerly as his fathers *Heir*.

Edward the 3d ſucceeds upon his Fathers Reſignation, but the Reſignation being forced, *Edward* the 3d was no *lawful* King till after his Father's Death. Cotton's *Abr.* p. 372.

Richard the 2d ſucceeded *Edward* the 3d, his Grandfather, by Right of *Inheritance*.

Henry the 4th came in upon the *Depoſition* of *Richard* the 2d, and claimed the Crown as due to him by *Right* of *Inheritance*, tho' he knew full well that the *Right* was not in *Him* but in *another*, [Earl *Mortimer*.] And 'tis plain the Nation was of the ſame Opinion, for our old Writers (aſſoon as they durſt) call him and his Race, *viz.* *Henry* the 5th and 6th, Uſurpers, *Cotton*'s Abridg. p. 389. and p. 666.

Edward the 4th ſucceeded *Henry* the 6th, and his firſt Parliament ſets forth his Title by *Birth-right* and *Proximity* of *Blood*, and calls *Henry* of *Darby* [*Henry* IV.] and his two Succeſſors [*Hen.* V. and VI.] *Uſurpers*, and ſays, they exerciſed the Government by *unjuſt Intruſion*, and *Uſurpation*. And they are called in this Statute Kings *de facto*, and not in *Right* and *Pretenſed Kings*, ſuch as did not reign *Lawfully*, nor poſſeſs the Crown by *juſt Title*, and their Reigns are called *Pretenſed Reigns*. The Lawyers acknowledged *Henry* VI. King *de facto*, and that he was not King but by *Uſurpation*. The Commons declared that by GOD's *Law*, MAN's *Law*, and *Law* of NATURE, He, [*Edward* the 4th] and no other, is and ought to be their *true*, *rightful* and *natural Leige* and *Soveriegn*

vereign Lord, and that he was *in Right*, from the death of his Father very *juſt* King of *England*, tho' his Father was never poſſeſſed of the Crown. See *Cotton*'s Abridg. p. 670.

Edward the 5th. ſucceeded as next *Heir*, but was ſoon murdered by his Uncle *Richard* the 3d.

Richard the 3d. tho' an Uſurper upon the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edward* the 4th, claimed the Crown by *Birth-right*; and it was decreed in Parliament, that *Richard* the 3d was *very undoubted King*, as well by *Right* of *Conſanguinity* and *Inheritance*, as *Election*. And the Election was grounded, but very falſly, upon his *Right*, *Title* and *Eſtate*, *to* and *in* the Crown by the *Laws* of *God* and *Nature*, and alſo by the ancient *Laws* of this Realm. *Cotton*'s Abridg. 711, *&c.*

Henry the 7th ſucceeded, and his beſt Title was the *Right* of his *Queen*, Daughter of *Edward* the 4th, and *undoubted Heir* to the Crown of *England*.

Henry the 8th. Succeeded as *Heir*, and in him the Lines of *York* and *Lancaſter* were united.

Edward the 6th, Son to *Henry* the 8th, was *True* and *Right Heir* to the Crown.

Mary, Daughter to *Henry* the 8th, by *Catherine* of *Spain*, ſucceeded to the Crown, as *Heir* to her Brother *Edward* the 6th, and her firſt Parliament, Seſſ. 2. Cap. 4. declares, that *immediately* after the deceaſe of *Edward* the 6th, the *Imperial Crown* of this Realm, with all Dignities, Dominions, Honours, Prehcminecies, Prerogatives, Stiles, Authorities and Juriſdictions to the ſame United, Annex'd, or Belonging, did not only Deſcend, Remain, and Come unto our moſt Dread Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majeſty, but alſo the ſame was then *immediately* and *lawfully* Inveſted, Deem'd and Adjudg'd in Her Highneſſes moſt Royal Perſon, by the *due Courſe* of *Inheritance*, and by the *Laws* and *Statutes* of this Realm.

Elizabeth ſucceeded as *Heir* to her Siſter Q. *Mary*, and her firſt Parliament declares, That they think in their Hearts, and confeſs with their Mouths, that Her Majeſty really is, and of meet Right ought to be by the *Laws* of *God* and the *Land*, their moſt *Rightful* and *Lawful*

ful Sovereign *Liege* Lady and Queen, and that ſhe is *Rightly*, *Lineally* and *Lawfully* deſcended of the *Blood Royal*, and *in* and *to* her princely *Perſon*, and her *Heirs*, *without all doubt*, the *Imperial* Crown of this Realm, with all pertaining thereto, are *rightly* and really inveſted and annexed, and they deſire it may be Enacted, that they do *Recognize* this Right to be in Her *Highneſs* and Her *Heirs*. —— Queen *Elizabeth* would never ſuffer her Parliament to limit the Succeſſion: and ſhe once committed two Commoners for moving it. She declared on her death-bed

James the 6th of *Scotland*, to be the *Right* Heir; and to him by *Right of Succeſſion* the Crown came, as being deſcended of *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *Edward* the 4th, and Wife of *Henry* the 7th. And the Parliament, 1 *Jac.* 1. declares, That *immediately* upon the Diſſolution and Deceaſe of *Elizabeth*, late Queen of *England*, the *Imperial* Crown of the Realm, *&c.* did by *inherent Birthright*, and *lawful* and *undoubted Succeſſion*, come to King *James*, as being *linealy*, *juſtly*, and *lawfully*, *next* and *Sole Heir* of the *Blood Royal* of this Realm.

From this ſhort Hiſtory of the Succeſſion, 'tis evident, notwithſtanding the frequent Uſurpations that have happened, that by the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, the Crown immediately devolves to the *next Heir* of the *Blood Royal*, by a *Lineal*, *Hereditary Right of Succeſſion*, and that thoſe who uſurp'd the Crown always pretended an *Hereditary Right*, as our beſt Hiſtorians teſtifie, and make uſe of the Conſent of the People; not as *giving Right*, but to make them ſubmit the more *quietly*.

An Hereditary Kingdom and Monarchical Government was the original *Fundamental Government ſettled in this Iſland* by *BRUTE*. Prinn's *Legal Hiſt. Vindic.* &c. Part II. p. 4.

The Duty of Subjects to their Kings, &c. as laid down in the Holy Scriptures.

THou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor curſe the Ruler of thy People, *Exod.* 22. 28.

Curſe not the King, no not in thy Thought, *Eccleſ.* 10. 20.

Fear God, Honour the King, 1 *Pet.* 2. 17.

My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King: and meddle not with them that are given to change, *Prov.* 24. 21.

The Fear of a King is as the roaring of a Lion: whoſo provokes him to anger, ſins againſt his own Soul, *Prov.* 20. 2.

Let every Soul be Subject unto the higher Powers. For there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be are ordained of God, *Rom.* 13. 1.

2. Whoſoever, therefore, reſiſts the Power, reſiſts the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.

Verſ. 3. For Rulers are not a terror to good Works, but to the Evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame.

Verſ. 4. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid: for he bears not the Sword in vain. For he is the Miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.

Verſ. 5. Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.

Verſ. 6. For, for this cauſe pay you tribute alſo: for they are God's Miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing.

Verſ. 7. Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Cuſtom to whom Cuſtom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour.

Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, 1 *Pet.* 2. 23.

Or

Or unto Governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of Evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well, *ver.* 14.

For ſo is the will of God, that with well-doing they may put to ſilence the Ignorance of fooliſh Men, *verſ.* 15.

Put them in mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magiſtrates, to be ready to every good Work, *Tit.* 3. 1.

Kings in Scripture called Gods, *Exod.* 22. 28. *God's Ordinance*, Rom. 13. 2. Gods Miniſters, *Rom.* 13. 4. God's Anointed, 1 *Sam.* 26. 9, 11. God's Servants, *Jer.* 43. 10. God's Shepherds, *Iſai.* 44. 28. God in Scripture ſtiles himſelf King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, 1 *Tim.* 6. 15. *Rev.* 17. 14. and 19. 16. By God Kings reign, *Prov.* 8. 15, 16. *Hoſ.* 8. 4.

Rules given to Kings in Scripture.

Kings *accountable* to God only. Againſt thee only have I ſinned, &c. *Pſalm.* 51. 4. A King againſt whom there is no riſing up, *Prov.* 30, 31. who may ſay unto him what doeſt thou? *Eccleſ.* 8. 4.

Kings accountable to God only.

The Oath to the King called the Oath of God. I counſel thee to keep the Kings Commandment, and that in regard of the *Oath of God*, *Eccleſ.* 8. 2. *Ezek.* 17. 19.

Of Oaths and Perjury, and God's Judgment againſt falſe ſwearers.

THou ſhalt ſwear, *the Lord liveth*, in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteouſneſs, *Jer.* 4. 2. *i. e.* Thou ſhalt ſwear to nothing, calling God, who liveth for ever, as a witneſs thereunto, but what is *Truth*, and what thou *Knoweſt* and art *Sure* of, and what is *Righteous*.

Ye ſhall not ſwear by my Name falſly, *Lev.* 19. 12.

If a Man vow a Vow unto the Lord, or ſwear an Oath to bind his Soul with a Bond; he ſhall not break his Word, he ſhall do according to all that proceeds out of his Mouth, *Numb.* 30. 2.

We have *ſworn* unto the *Gibeonites*, by the Lord God of *Iſrael*; and therefore we may not touch them.

This will we do to them; we will even let them live, leaſt Wrath be upon us; becauſe of the *Oath* which we ſware unto them. *Joſ.* 9. 19, 20.

There was a Famine in the Days of *David* three Years, Year after Year, and *David* enquired of the Lord. And the Lord anſwer'd, it is for *Saul*, and for his bloody Houſe, becauſe he ſlew the *Gibeonites*.

The *Gibeonites* were of the Remnant of the *Amorites*, unto whom the Children of *Iſrael* had ſworn; and *Saul* ſought to ſlay them in his Zeal to the Children of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1, 2.

The King ſpared *Mephiboſheth*, the Son of *Jonathan*, the Son of *Saul*, becauſe of the *Lord's Oath* that was between them, between *David*, and *Jonathan* the Son of *Saul*, 2 *Sam.* 21. 7.

As I live, ſaith the Lord God, ſurely in the place where the King dwelleth that made him King, whoſe Oath he deſpiſed, and whoſe Covenant he broke, even with him, in the midſt of *Babylon* he ſhall die, *Ezek.* 17. 16, 18. Seeing he deſpiſed the Oath, by breaking the Covenant, (when lo, he had given his Hand) and hath done all theſe things, he ſhall not eſcape. 19. Therefore, thus ſaith the Lord God, as I live, ſurely mine Oath that he hath deſpiſed, and my Covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompence upon his Head.

I will come near to you to Judgment, and I will be a ſwift Witneſs againſt Falſe-Swearers, *Mal.* 3. 5.

The Curſe ſhall enter into the Houſe of him that ſweareth falſly by my Name; and it ſhall remain in the midſt of his Houſe, and ſhall conſume it, *Zach.* 5. 4.

Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs that takes his Name in vain, *Exod.* 20. 7.

Who ſhall aſcend into the Hill of the Lord? He that hath clean Hands, and a pure Heart, who hath not lift his Soul unto Vanity, nor ſworn deceitfully, *Pſal.* 24. 3, 4.

Becauſe of Swearing the Land mourns; the pleaſant places of the Wilderneſs are dried up, and their Courſe is evil, and their Force is not right; for both Propher and Prieſt are profane; yea, in my Houſe have I found their Wickedneſs, ſaith the Lord, *Jer.* 23. 10, 11.

Of

Of Juſtice, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, &c. And of God's Judgments againſt Injuſtice and Oppreſſion.

RENder to all their Dues, *Rom.* 13. 7.

All things whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets, *Mat.* 7. 12.

God hath ſhewed thee, O Man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, *Micah* 6. 8.

To do Juſtice and Judgment, is more acceptable to the Lord than Sacrifice, *Prov.* 21. 3.

Better is a little with Righteouſneſs, than great Revenues without Right, *Prov.* 16. 8.

Injuſtice. Wo unto him that builds his Houſe by Unrighteouſneſs, and his Chambers by Wrong, *Jer.* 22. 13.

Robbery. Thou ſhalt not Rob thy Neighbour, *Lev.* 19. 13.

Whoſo Robs his Father, or his Mother, and ſaith it is no Tranſgreſſion, the ſame is the Companion of a Deſtroyer, *Prov.* 28. 24.

Invaſion of the Rights of others.

Remove not the ancient Land-mark, which thy Fathers have ſet, *Prov.* 22. 28.

Thou ſhalt not remove thy Neighbour's Land-mark, *Deut.* 19. 14.

Curſed is he that removes his Neighbour's Land-mark, *Deut.* 27. 17.

Mark the perfect Man, and behold the Upright, for the end of that Man is Peace: But the Tranſgreſſors ſhall be deſtroyed, and the end of the Wicked ſhall be cut off, *Pſal.* 37. 37, 38.

I ſaw under the Sun the place of Judgment, that Wickedneſs was there; and the place of Righteouſneſs, that Iniquity was there, *Eccleſ.* 3. 16.

It ſhall not be well with the Wicked; neither ſhall he prolong his Days, which are as a Shadow, becauſe he feareth not before God, *Eccleſ.* 9. 13.

As the *Partridge* ſitteth on Eggs, and hatcheth them not: ſo he that getteth Riches, and not by Right, ſhall leave them in the midſt of his Days, and at his end ſhall be a Fool, *Jer.* 17. 11.

Reſti-

Reſtitution. He ſhall reſtore that which he took violently away, or the thing which he hath deceitfully gotten, *Lev.* 6. 4.

Reconciliation. If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way; firſt be reconcil'd to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift, *Mat.* 5. 23, 24.

Encouragements to Fear God.

THE Lord taketh pleaſure in them that fear Him, *Pſal.* 147. 11.

The Fear of the Lord tendeth to Life; and he that hath it, ſhall abide ſatisfied: He ſhall not be viſited with Evil, *Prov.* 19. 23.

The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that Fear him, and delivers them, *Pſal.* 34. 37.

Behold, the Eye of the Lord is upon them that Fear him: To deliver their Soul from Death, and to keep them alive in Famine, *Pſal.* 33. 18, 19.

Surely, his Salvation is nigh them that Fear him, *Pſal.* 85. 9.

His Mercy is on them that Fear him, from Generation to Generation, *Luke* 1. 50.

He will bleſs them that Fear the Lord, both ſmall and great, *Pſal.* 115. 13.

O Fear the Lord, ye his Saints; for there is no want to them that Fear him, *Pſal.* 34. 9.

O that there were ſuch an Heart in them, that they would Fear me, and keep all my Commandments always, that it might be well with them, and with their Children for ever, *Deut.* 5. 29.

Happy is the Man that Feareth always, *Prov.* 28. 14.

Fear God and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole Duty of Man, *Eccleſ.* 12. 13.

Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather Fear him which is able to deſtroy both Soul and Body in Hell, *Mat.* 10. 28.

Be not afraid of them that kill the Body, and after that have no more that they can do: But I will fore-warn you whom you ſhall Fear; Fear him which, after he hath killed,

led, hath power to caſt into Hell; yea, *I* ſay unto you, Fear him, *Luk.* 12. 4, 5.

Sanctify the Lord God of Hoſts himſelf, and let him be your Fear, let him be your Dread, *Iſa.* 8. 13. *Read Pſal.* 112.

Encouragements to truſt in GOD, *and not in Man.*

TAke no thought, ſaying, What ſhall we Eat? or what ſhall we Drink? or wherewithal ſhall we be cloathed? For your heavenly Father knows that ye have need of all theſe things, *Mat.* 6. 31, 32.

Caſt all your Care upon him, for he careth for you, 1 *Pet.* 5. 7.

Whoſo puts his truſt in the Lord, Mercy embraceth him on every ſide, *Pſal.* 32. 11.

In God have I put my truſt: I will not fear what Man can do unto me, *Pſal.* 56. 4.

It is better to truſt in the Lord, than to put any Confidence in Man.

It is better to truſt in the Lord, than to put any Confidence in Princes, *Pſal.* 118. 8, 9.

O Lord God of Hoſts, bleſſed is the Man that puts his Truſt in thee, *Pſal.* 84. 13.

Encouragements to ſuffer patiently for Well-doing, and not for Evil-doing.

IF any Man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs daily, and follow me, *Luk.* 9. 23, 24. For whoſoever will ſave his Life ſhall loſe it; but whoſoever will loſe his Life for my ſake, the ſame ſhall ſave it.

We are troubled on every ſide, yet not diſtreſſed; *v.* 9. Perſecuted, but not forſaken; caſt down, but not deſtroyed.

Bleſſed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of Mercies, and God of all Comfort, 2 *Cor.* 1, 3. Who comforts us in all our Tribulations, *v.* 4.

For

We muſt, through much Tribulation, enter into the Kingdom of God, *Acts* 14. 22.

All that will live Godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer Perſecution, 2 *Tim.* 3. 12.

For even hereunto were we called; becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an Example, that we ſhould follow his Steps, 1 *Pet.* 2. 21.

But I reckon, that the Sufferings of this preſent time, are not worthy to be compar'd with the Glory which ſhall be revealed in us, *Rom.* 8. 18.

For our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17.

And if we ſuffer, we ſhall alſo Reign with Chriſt, 2 *Tim.* 2. 12.

Let none of you ſuffer as a Murtherer, or as a Thief, or as an Evil-doer, or as a Buſy-body in other Mens Matters, 1 *Pet.* 4. 15.

For what Glory is it, if when ye be Buffetted for your Faults, ye take it patiently? But if when ye do well, and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God, 1 *Pet.* 2. 20.

If any Man ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſham'd, but let him glorify God on this behalf, 1 *Pet.* 4. 16.

Who is he that will harm you, if ye be Followers of that which is good? If ye ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake, happy are ye; be not afraid of their Terror, neither be troubled, 1 *Pet.* 3. 13, 14.

Bleſſed are they which are Perſecuted for Righteouſneſs ſake; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven, *Mat* 5. 10.

Verſe 11. Bleſſed are ye, when Men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evil againſt you falſely for my ſake.

Verſe 12. Rejoyce, and be exceeding glad; for great is your Reward in Heaven.

Jeſus anſwerd, My Kingdom is not of this World; if my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I ſhould not be deliver'd to the *Jews*: But now is my Kingdom from hence, *John* 18. 36.

FINIS.

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